

The Sun in the East

by Mustapha Fersi



The great leader President Kim Il Sung and the dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il watch the soiree of the working people of Pyongyang given in honour of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Workers' Party of Korea and its 6th Congress

Editor's Note

Mustapha Fersi, Vice-President of the Writers Union of Tunisia, published his book *The Sun in the East* in French, on the occasion of the 70th birthday of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

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Preface

I always felt in the depths of my heart an irresistible urge to have contacts with the world. Nothing could check my natural propensity for travel which appeared in my early years and grew with age to be a second habit. This permanent thirst of mine which had to be quenched even at the cost of sleep and food could only be satisfied by airplane, train, car or other vehicles, which would carry me to distant strange lands. I feel a strong urge to admire something.

I must confess that I had the opportunities, rare for the people of my country and my generation, to cross hundreds of frontiers and travel thousands of kilometres and admire miracles here and there in the vast world. But the greatest privilege life offered me is, without doubt, that I have discovered, acquainted myself with and loved multitude of people of different races, religions, cultures and civilizations through the unforgettable talks we had, which make the life worthwhile to live. Now I am firmly convinced that the freedom of the press and expression we so highly value necessarily presupposes the multitude and diversity of our sources of information.

I came back from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and, to be frank with you, I never had in my life such admirations, surprises, sensations and discoveries in less than one month that I enquire myself if we live on the same planet. We are not well informed and nearly do not know about Korea.

I visited the People's China and some countries of

Southeast Asia one year ago and certainly knew that the Asian continent is swarming with people and that it offers foreign visitors thousand upon thousand of occasions to discover, marvel, be fascinated or shocked, and so learn and become better informed about the realities of the world so far almost unknown to common people, a kind of preserve for specialists and initiated, a distant world that had long been closed behind its walls, and oppressed, spoiled, betrayed and trifled by sanguinary despots or greedy and cruel colonialists. I know that the same imperialist powers which had dominated, subjugated and conquered this continent yesterday, continue to ignore the desire, ambitions and interests of now free nations that want to hew out their destiny independently and creatively. We are not well informed. Things go as if Asia, Africa and Latin America do not exist. We have only fragments of information and news about our continents. But they are all doctored, singled out, cut down or distorted in advance by the so-called international news services so that they may conform to the interests of great powers. The supernational information services force upon us their subjective views on the world and, primarily, on the third world and non-aligned countries and hot-war zones of the globe (where the interests of the great powers are reportedly threatened).

The super-news agencies hold that although crucial problems are posed in Palestine, Namibia, Angola, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Salvador, Iran and everywhere, the high political and administrative circles of the world seem to be resolved to find fair, acceptable international solutions to them.

The talks on the "autonomy of Palestine" between Egypt and Israel with the participation of the United States dragged on for more than a year, but it was no more than a lengthy polemic. Tel-Aviv makes it plain that it only recognizes its own version of "self-administration of

Palestine" and is ready to have a formula legalizing the Israeli occupation of Arab territory. This implies that the Israeli formula of so-called "solution" presupposes the perpetuation of occupation of Arab territory, deprivation of the Palestinian people of the right to found their own independent state. This was testified by the annexation of Golan to Israeli territory while the attention of the whole world was focussed on another hot spot of the globe.

In 1978 the Security Council adopted the United Nations Organization's proposal on Namibia known as resolution No. 435 which envisaged free election to be held under UN supervision in Namibia occupied illegally by the Republic of South Africa. This proposal which was approved by the Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO), African and other non-aligned countries was torpedoed by the Republic of South Africa at the Geneva Conference held in January 1981. Although the United Nations recognizes the SWAPO as the sole genuine representative of the Namibian people, the Republic of South Africa insists on inviting the puppet authorities it rigged up in Namibia to the talks along with the SWAPO. But Africa rejects the proposal of Washington and Pretoria. Africa stands by the SWAPO which fights for the complete liquidation of colonialism and racism in Namibia.

Korea is still split into two by the Military Demarcation Line. All the honest-minded observers have no doubt that the leader of Korea Marshal Kim Il Sung, a respected son of the people, who is closely identified with them, wants dialogue and peace.

I was in Pyongyang on June 25, 1981, the 31st anniversary of the outbreak of the murderous unjust war forced upon the people of the DPRK by the imperialists. Watching the great demonstration on Kim Il Sung Square along with Pyongyangites and, through them, with the entire Korean people, I was greatly impressed by the

unanimous action of the Korean people for the reunification of their country divided by imperialism and its allies, the enemies of the Korean nation.

Considering that all freedom-loving people should fight against the manoeuvres for unleashing a fratricidal war in the vile and morbid interests of foreign forces, I sent a message to the great leader His Excellency President Kim Il Sung. In the message I, a freedom- and peace-loving Tunisian writer, friend of Korea and member of humanity, expressed my most sincere wishes for the Korean nation to be reunified independently and peacefully along the line laid down at the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea and in conformity with resolution No. 3390-B relating to the Korean question adopted at the 30th United Nations General Assembly session in November 1975. I also expressed my support for President Kim Il Sung's policy for effecting reunification in conformity with the desire of the entire Korean people and the requirements of the time without foreign interference and for founding the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo under a single nomenclature.

This attitude of mine was dictated by my profound conviction that President Kim Il Sung was sincere when he proposed reunifying Korea on peaceful and democratic lines through free consultation of the people of the two zones.

It will be difficult for me, in effect, to imagine even for a second that democratic Korea being conducted to security and well-being by the President's genius, clairvoyance and energetic activities, will take the great risk, without being forced to do so by foreign aggression, of plunging in a military adventure which will ruin a country completely rebuilt after 1953, readjusted and beautifully decorated and which has today attained, thanks to the devoted sacrifices of its people, a degree of progress and a

prosperity to be envied by many developed industrialized nations.

Is it just, is it sane and a good policy to maintain foreign troops equipped with the latest and most destructive weapons of our times in south Korea, despite repeated protests of the people suffering from all kinds of oppression, tyranny and bestial atrocities?

When I told my relations and friends about the concrete wall dividing Korea in two, they heaped the blame for it on north Korea. Clamorous imperialist propaganda induced them to believe that communist nations alone were capable of such a big crime. They insisted that the concrete wall was built by communists. Some unprincipled people might be believing that to invoke a curse on communism, the aggravation of international tension and outbreak of a new war could be a benefit. This is, in effect, a veritable phobia.

Let's recall the bitter experience of the Popular Unity Government of Chile. The Socialist Allende was elected President of the country by the free will of the Chilean people in the same way as the Presidents of Italy, Germany and France were elected. But the negative "vote" of Washington eventually led to the removal of Allende.

Recently the West European press exposed that a top-secret plan "100-6" has been worked out, a plan which envisaged the overthrow of existing governments in such countries as the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark and Norway and transfer of the civil governments to the US Command in Europe in time of emergency. The reason is very simple. Washington thinks that these governments are not "fully reliable" and need strict surveillance. Antagonism, tedious war, psychological warfare and undeclared wars continued so far. We are threatened with a world war so feared by people. I should like to repeat the

ds of Voltaire, "Lord, how many wars are to be fought
peace?"
President Kim Il Sung well knows that the reunifi-
tion of his country requires a protracted and arduous
struggle. He said:

**"The US imperialists are not likely to get out of
south Korea soon. Nevertheless, the Yankees will
not be able to hold on to the south over a long
period."**

North Koreans know well that the revolution is yet to be
continued. They know that if the revolutionary cause is not
accomplished by the present generation, it has to be
handed down to the next generation to be completed. In
order to drive the US imperialists out of their territory,
to reunify the country and accomplish the Korean revolution
to the end, they have to intensify the class education of the
working people and continue to pay serious attention to
elevating the intellectual level of the rising generation, and
firmly equip them with the Juche idea in particular. The
Juche idea enunciated by President Kim Il Sung is not
only applicable to Korea but also affords the basis for all the
extensive revolutionary activities to remould man and make
him the master of the revolution and construction and
transform the world.

This book aims to introduce to the readers a Korea
nourished by a constructive ideology, built by the people's
efforts for their happiness and entirely oriented to progress
mightiness and invulnerability, Korea which is proud and
high-flying, in spite of her great modesty. To be frank with
you, Korea of President Kim Il Sung is an "advancing
force" in the language of the romantic poet who wrote
"legend of centuries", though it might displease slander
and the jealous. Korea advances like the legendary winged
horse towards the peak which no one has ever attained
is supposedly inhabited only by fairies. In this country

becomes reality not by magic but by the will of people who have restored their genuine destiny, the destiny of the "master of himself and the world" who is invested with all the qualities, duties and rights which are inherent to his position in nature and society, the right to Chajusong and creativity and duties of the genuine master of the revolution and construction. The Juche idea which constitutes the basis and essence of the theory and practice of Kimilsungism has nothing to envy with regard to any philosophy, ancient and contemporary. The Juche idea created in Korea guides the life and activity of Koreans in all details in conformity with the reality of Korea and requirements of the time.

The DPRK is a country of legends and miracles and, at the same time, a country of factories, cooperative farms and children's palaces. All is clear and limpid like the streams rising in the summits of her innumerable mountains accounting for three-fourths of the territory. Four seasons are distinct in this country. Likewise, all is distinct. All is clear and crystal-clear like the legendary rainbow, which in an instant transforms itself into a magic wand capable of giving life and improving relations between people and assuaging discords. It is necessary to refer to syncretism whose secret Korea seems to retain today as yesterday, the secret which ensures that the present seems to have been born of both the distant past and the future surely to come, all of these forming a time made dynamic by man and domesticated by his sole will. Hence the miracle that new man reigns over the land as the absolute master of nature and society which he ceaselessly creates and remoulds by his efforts to meet his will. This miracle serves everyday needs, well-being and security of the working people. This has nothing to do with mystery and with the superstition and foolishness of the weak and servile fellows unworthy of being masters of the revolution.

d construction. Because today's Koreans who are
uche-oriented both in theory and in practice know
well that as long as one does not buy a new face,
he attire can produce no effect. I wonder whether
Korea of President Kim Il Sung is a humanized
prodigy.

This is what I want to tell the readers in the book. The
sole ambition of this book is, in effect, to provide them wit'
references to an assemblage so that they may find parts and
put them together, for it is vain and pretentious to try to
cover in one volume all the aspects of life and activities of a
nation that has 5,000 years long history, repulsed ag-
gressors from their territory in the course of centuries and
won the honours of victor by defeating two most heinous
imperialisms, Japan in 1945 and the United States in 1953.
I wrote this travel sketch for those who know nothing or
little about north Korea, those who sincerely want to
consider, think over and judge. Therefore, this book will
not satisfy the vanity of an inspector who wants to be a
know-all or idle scribblers who acquit themselves cheaply
of their assignments.

This book has not been written to any order nor dictated
by anyone. So the author has not only an intention but an
obligation to supply information which may be no more
than elementary, first-hand knowledge of what should be
told and written. It is thanks to the long and scrupulo
preliminary studies that the author of this book co
penetrate the originality and specific nature of the soc
with which I kept contact and whose problems
preoccupations I tried to understand better. This I d
persuade the readers that the problems of our tim
global, that the world is a universe of interdependence
diversity and that fundamental human solidarity m
established between peoples despite their differer
that genuine solutions of conciliation become poss

serve the interests of all people for the welfare of all humanity.

This book has been written entirely in honour of the militant and heroic people of the country I have discovered, appreciate and—to tell the truth—come to love. This is the least tribute to be paid to the friends who hold out a hand of generosity and wish you to clasp it with “Salamu Alaykum”, with friendly and sincere word “Annyonghasimnika”.

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Mustapha Fersi
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5,000 Years of Age and It Goes On

In vain I searched the 20th century's big Larousse encyclopaedia published in 1931 for the least reference to Koryo, the name of an ancient kingdom of Korea, after which it is now proposed to name the Democratic Confederal Republic when two parts of Korea, north and south, partitioned by the Military Demarcation Line are reunified. I easily found Korbous, a hot-spring and bathing resort of Tunisia on the Gulf of Tunis (controlled by Grombalia before independence and now governed by Nabeul), famous for its hot sodium chloride water (48°-60°) and equally known for its sulfurous and calcic sources. Mention is made of another city, a watering place in the Odorrheim district of Transylvania. Korond (Corond in Rumanian) is, in effect, a Hungarian city of 3,000 inhabitants (1940), known for its mineral water. The information is short but correct. But no word about Koryo. Nevertheless, there once existed the united kingdom of Koryo which is much talked about today and whose relics and remains I admired in the History Museum in Pyongyang. Even under the entry word Korea and in the paragraph of her history there is no mention of Koryo. Instead, it gives an account of the Korean economy in the beginning of our century, which is out of date and invalid, but it is not without documentary interest in understanding what great influence colonialism of those days exerted on the spirits of men of culture, scholars, linguists and historians.

It runs in part:

"Fishing grounds well organized after Japanese fashion lost much importance following the withdrawal of the former occupants.... The Japanese effort for colonization of Korea was backed up by the establishment of big banks in Korea (Bank of Chosen, Agricultural Bank, etc...). It was so energetic that Japan was faced with financial difficulties before the war due to the disproportion between her real financial power and her expenditure for colonization." (Sic.)

What provokes a great laugh in this malignant article which does not hide the author's sympathy for colonization is its conclusion that ill covers up his spite against the announcement of Korea's independence. Now let's see what he says:

"Japan made Korea its protectorate in 1907 and then in 1910 annexed and made her one of its prefectures (Chosen) governed by a governor-general. After that the Japanese had to suppress diverse nationalist movements which were sometimes very violent. The Japanese did a great deal for the renovation of the country—afforestation and building of roads, schools and museums. After the Second World War the Allies proclaimed her independence."

It is strange that the writer of the article who pities the lot of the poor Japanese who had had so much to achieve, and to invest and then to lose in their colony, does not appeal to us to rise against the decision of the Allies to proclaim the independence of Korea. All this is so mean, pernicious, spiteful and denatured that it needs in effect no comment.

The ancient history of Korea is not well known. History textbooks or so-called encyclopaedias used in the West only provide fragments of information like: "The unification of the country was brought about under a national dynasty from the 7th to the 9th century"; "Koreans won

back independence by taking advantage of the struggles between the Mongols and the new Chinese dynasty of Ming. A national dynasty founded in the 14th century, the Li dynasty, occupied the throne until the modern epoch".

It is true that in 1931, the year of edition of the big Larousse encyclopaedia I referred to, I was born in a country which had been a protectorate of colonial France from 1881, like the Koreans of my generation whose country was made a protectorate of Japan in 1905 and annexed by her in 1910. We, Africans and Asians, were placed in the same plight of being arbitrarily forced to do chores and pay poll taxes and were forgotten by history, which we must now rewrite, because we forged it all along by our own efforts and with the blood of our martyrs in the fierce struggle against colonialist occupants, exploiters and despots. Our victories have now entitled us to the position of free men, and if we follow the ineluctable march of the time towards the establishment of socialism in our countries, they will tomorrow place us in the position of masters of the revolution and construction.

No mention is made of Koryo in the books compiled by Europeans and Americans for their children and the children in their protectorates colonized or subjugated in one way or another. But this kingdom did exist as a unified state, fostering the dreams and hopes of a people who ceaselessly fought for freedom all through 5,000 years of their existence in history. So one can easily affirm beyond doubt that the life of Koreans has all the time been oscillated between two poles—between the invasions suffered by the country and the struggles waged by the people to recover their sovereignty. Wars, revolts and revolutions always cohabited with culture and civilization on the Korean territory.

The children of north Korea engaged in the Juche revo-

lution know it well. Koryo is not a myth, Koryo existed beyond dispute.

Children, the sole kings of this blessed and prosperous Republic, are well informed of the international events which shook our age. They know well about the massacre in Kwangju, South Cholla Province, perpetrated by the bloodthirsty Chon Du Hwan fascist clique against their compatriots calling for freedom and democracy and longing for independent, peaceful reunification of the country as they do. They know that where there is exploitation and oppression the people are bound to rise in resistance and that it is inevitable that the south Korean people fight against the oppressors for liberation and freedom. They were taught about this during lessons devoted to ideological education at school and at the Students and Children's Palace. They always regard it as their duty to support their south Korean compatriots, as well as all peoples engaged in the revolution.

I heard teenagers talk about Korean history as if about the events or the denouement of an adventure which they experienced a month or a week or a few days ago, at a camping school. At this moment I listen again to the talk of one of them tape-recorded at a primary school in Pyongyang on June 25, 1981 with the pride of a Tunisian father who would listen what his own son would tell animatedly of the details of history of Punic or Roman Carthage, Kairouan of Aghlabides or of Mahdia of Fatimides. Because Koryo belongs, in effect, to old history, the history of national identity.

This old kingdom was a strong unified state of Korea. In fact, this kingdom succeeded to three small kingdoms, which were:

Koguryo which was situated in the basin of the Amnok River and was the first feudal state of Korea existing from the early first century BC to 668. In 372 its King Sosurim

ended a university for education in Confucianism and built a big Buddhist temple for the children of aristocrats of the kingdom;

Paekje which existed from the mid-first century to 560 was also a powerful kingdom. In those days the Japanese called Paekje a treasure-house of gold and silver and learned from her characters, philosophy, astronomy, medicine, geography, agriculture, metallurgy and music; Silla which lasted from the early second century to 935 was the smallest of the three kingdoms.

The unified kingdom of Koryo existed from 918 to 1392 and saw a golden age in the domains of agriculture and arts. In those days architecture, sculpture, painting, ceramic industry, astronomy, medicine, music, arts and literature achieved extraordinary development.

Archeologists of our time unearthed not all treasures of that great era. But those discovered, restored and revalued testify beyond doubt to a glorious past, a wealth and a historical existence which are incontestable.

The existence of Korea in the history of mankind dates back not to the early first century BC but to a far more distant past. According to some academicians, the Koreans have a history of some 600,000 years.

The history of Koryo is recorded in the long and rich lineage of successive kingdoms which experienced the rise and fall of big dynasties that adorned human history. In the Korean Central History Museum I saw the weapons of a period used by the people of the ancient slave-owning states and feudal states of the middle ages in the fight against foreign aggressors in defence of the nation's integrity of their country and identity of the nation. They never yielded to foreign forces. The relics covering a period from the remotest age to the more recent times are arranged in the 19 rooms of the museum are very instructive and original to visitors. Here all conditions are p

ded to teach history to the rising generation so that they may continue to make revolution well. Our guide told us, "Busy as he was immediately after liberation, the respected Marshal Kim Il Sung personally saw that we were provided with all conditions necessary for the study of history. Under his wise leadership and at his personal initiative this museum was founded on December 1, 1945, a very difficult time when our country had to devote everything to the revolution and construction."

Dressed in the traditional fashion of Korean women, wearing a well-fitting long and wide *chima* over her waist and short *chogori* with tie-strings, our guide was a perfect hostess. Her mild singing voice and her short Asiatic accent due to her having little opportunities of practice in French by no means impaired the interest and richness of the documentation of her narration. In Korea all study and once they acquire basic knowledge, they endeavour to develop, improve and enrich it with new information, better to meet the requirements of our time. The young girl was quite unlike the ordinary guides one meets in museums and had nothing common with a diligent student who retails her recitation. She is aware of the importance of her duty and the need to perform it with utmost care and competence. She also knows that she might be addressed with unexpected questions, pertinent or superfluous, to or off the point, by inquisitive visitors like me at any moment. So, she must be able to answer, to give supplementary information, to open a parenthesis and to have at times the wit or the way of speaking to cause a laugh. Our guide never failed even for a single moment to perform her mission excellently. About anthropoids that a million years ago evolved into men very quickly to form collectives, about *Homo sapiens* who lived in matriarchal community 50,000 years ago, about relics of polished stone and potteries of 6,000 years ago, about the home of

5,000 years ago reproduced after the original one, about women's decorations of the Upper Neolithic Age, innumerable bronze implements, a marvellous flute made of animal's bone 4,000 years ago, one of the oldest musical instruments in the world or about armours with helmets of the Koguryo period which warriors wore like today's tank, though bent with their weight, and about all objects on display in the museum, our guide knew very well and did everything to make our visit as agreeable as possible. She was proud of her belonging to a people as old as the world and as young as the revolution, always in quest of identity stable, definitive and recognized, but always having been the target of the evil forces, of the greed of the neighbours, cruel wars, follies of clergymen and obscurantism of religions which preach submission and conventionalism.

However, kingdoms of Korea were once independent, unified and powerful. The people were fearless and impeccable heroes. In different periods, when the motherland was at stake and it was necessary to rise against the aggressors, the enemy of the nation, these heroes led the van of the peasants who beat down the aggressors and their accomplices, feudal lords, with staunch militancy, an iron will and in the spirit of moving the heaven and earth, and fought in defence of the just cause of the common people, the weak and the poor. These heroes represent and symbolize the undying Korea that always rose from the heaps of ashes and became more powerful and more impregnable. Their names are engraved on the memory of the entire Korean people. Men and women, youths and children learn from their lives, sing the praises of their struggle for dignity and admire at their genuine legendary feats. They emulate the courage and tenacity of Ulji Mun Dok, Kang Gam Chan, Li Sun Sin, An Jung Gun and others. It is an undeniable fact that they were active respectively in 612, the 10th, 11th and 16th centuries and

in 1909, the time when Japan that had vanquished the tzarist Russia, was annexing Korea. This testifies to the Korean people's love for their motherland, a pure and romantic and even naive love always kept in the depths of their minds and inseparable from them. The Korean people by nature are patriotic. It is in their nature to lay down their lives without scruple in defence of their freedom. The heroes cherishing such a boundless love for the motherland and freedom are bound to beat back the aggressors and emerge victorious over them.

Today I read again the last words of a young combatant in my memo-book:

"I'm a youth of liberated Korea. My life is precious, and my hope for the bright future is also precious. But my life, my hope and my happiness are no more precious than the fate of the motherland. There is no more precious life, more beautiful hope and greater happiness than to devote my youth to my one and only motherland, though I have one life."

The young hero was only 18 years old in October 1951. After having suffered repeated ignominious defeats, the enemy launched the "summer and autumn offensives" behind the scene of the ceasefire talks in an attempt to win decisive victories in the battles for important strategic heights in the eastern sector of the front and wipe out the effectives of the People's Army. Seeing through the enemy's scheme for attack quickly, Marshal Kim Il Sung gave orders to build strong defences on Height 1211 and around it. The young hero and other defenders of Height 1211 sent a letter of pledge bearing their signatures to the respected leader, Supreme Commander, in which they expressed their firm determination to defend every inch of the motherland at the cost of their blood. The enemy attacked, throwing in huge forces and showered an average of 30,000-40,000 shells and bombs over the

height every day. The height was turned into a sea of fire. But the defenders who pledged to defend the height to the last drop of their blood firmly defended the height, displaying superhuman heroism. Our indomitable young hero dashed forward to the enemy's pillbox to silence its machine-gun with his chest. Another hero charged into the midst of US soldiers with a bundle of hand grenades in his hands. This was the "loftiest sacrifice".

Our guide told us without vanity but with the pride of a nation that had beaten a stronger foe:

"Thanks to the command and splendid operational line of Marshal Kim Il Sung and the heroic fight of the valorous People's Army men, the summer and autumn offensives ended in an ignominious defeat of the enemy and Height 1211 remains forever recorded as the height of the soldiers of the 2nd Kang Gon Infantry Guard Division in the modern history of heroic Korea."

In the Korean Revolution Museum I saw a grand cyclorama 56 metres wide and 15 metres high which portrayed the unforgettable battle. This monumental masterpiece and a lot of other similar works were created in memory of the freedom fighters who, equipped with the Juche idea, were ready to lay down their lives at any moment in order to live a worthy life. The victory of the Korean people in the Korean war meant the victory of the revolutionary army over the reactionary imperialist forces, and, consequently, the victory of the revolutionary armed forces over aggressive forces. This shows that the people who rose as one in defence of freedom, taking their destiny in their hands, are invincible. This victory showed the oppressed people that if they have firm confidence and are ready to make any sacrifice they are sure to defeat imperialism, however powerful and cruel. So, how can any aggressor dare pretend invulnerability?

Gallopig Chollima

"We have been able to ride Chollima because we have the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. No one helped us to mount him. If someone who does not know how to ride is put on horseback, he may fall and get hurt. We mounted Chollima by ourselves; and we are now galloping forward with a free rein."

Kim Il Sung

When I am writing this chapter, the capitalist world is undergoing another crisis due to many factors, the most important of which seems to be the announcement by the Americans of their intention to "resume the production of neutron bombs". Socialism that came into power in France is taking stock of the 100 days of its government, while the Social-Democratic Party which is still in office in the Federal Republic of Germany finds itself in an impasse due to the neopacifist and neutral trends expressed in the forms of mammoth mass meetings of a completely anti-US nature and of petitions signed by hundreds of thousands of citizens.

The US interference in the West European affairs has gone so far as to decide how such and such country must live, for whom it must vote, how it must distribute Cabinet portfolios and how to make a budget.

Washington and its partners do not seem to understand each other. Mitterand declares that "Americans do not understand our evolutions. Will Reagan sneeze? And

then? I will not immediately put my fingers to the seams of trousers." Schmidt let off steam in the presence of his ministers. Many Diet members of Germany strongly denounce the Reagan Administration for "its interference in the internal affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany", and the spokesman of the Bonn government qualifies Washington's criticism of his country's policy relating to the reduction of military expenditure in the budget of 1982 as "misplaced in form and content".

The United States is putting a spoke in the wheel. It seems to be desirous of forbidding others to do what it allows itself in different fields including the trade with the Soviet Union conducted in the form of delivery of machine tools, electronic equipment and chemical products. This explains why a German industrialist is thinking, "The vast market of the East justifies the attitude of the United States that has no intention of giving up trade with Moscow but does not want others to have it."

The United States not only lands Europe and its partners of NATO in trouble. As a faithful gendarme of the free world, it tries to block up all routes of communist infiltration on the globe. It is ready to plant its flag everywhere in the world and give its allies at any time, in wartime in particular, logistic support whose decisive importance it is hard for nonprofessionals to assess.

The presence of the US Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean Sea is an anachronism without any sense in our time of atomic submarines and intercontinental missiles. The United States is standing guard over the rivers flowing into the Mediterranean which can be defended by its littoral states in any circumstances without difficulty if they want to.

This constitutes a part of the mission and role of the United States in the world as a defender of "freedom" against "totalitarianism", "despotism" and "slavery" of

socialist ideology which continues to disturb the life of the capitalists and imperialists that the United States intends to maintain for ever to dominate over all regions of the world.

While some anxious Europeans wonder whether humanity will cross the pass of 2000 unharmed or decimated, the third world countries vainly seek among Westerners the dialoguers who would openly declare their stand towards north-south dialogue, pay regard to their vital problems and are not affected by false propaganda and imperialist expansionism.

According to the Western press whose information is always from "a reliable source" and which bristles with racist impudence and malice of some reporters suborned by capitalists, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea helped Zimbabwe to train crack battalions. Is it to say that South Africa does not menace Zimbabwe's access to the sea via Mozambique? What is wrong if Africa fighting against apartheid, for freedom appeals to the third world, more exactly, to Korea led by President Kim Il Sung, the non-aligned country, that, faithful to the independent and creative policy, is offering aid to its allies of the non-aligned group (objectively at least). According to a malevolent *Express* reporter, Korea has already offered aid to many liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America. "Today it is doubtlessly giving aid to Zimbabwe fighting against white Rhodesia" he says. Has not Zimbabwe, an independent sovereign state, the right to choose her friends?

This will benefit Africa aspiring for freedom and be worse for the "propagandists" of Africa of apartheid and imperialist subjugation.

What, then, does Chollima mean? It means a winged horse: What speed, size and capacity has it? Originally it covers "cholli" (a thousand *ri*) a day. (Korea is the country of three thousand *ri*.) This means that if one gallops astride

his fine steed at such a speed as in a fairy tale, one will cover the whole territory of Korea in three days. In the old days people symbolized high speed and irresistible forward movement in this way. Ten *ri* almost equals four kilometres. The Chollima Movement is the expression, adapted to the national sentiments and taste of the Korean people, of their will to advance apace at the speed of this legendary horse, in keeping with the urgent needs of development of the socialist economy and the logical demand of Juche-oriented socialist construction.

The movement started in a very complex and difficult international and internal situation. The country had only emerged from the war which had destroyed everything and taken a heavy toll of lives. Large numbers of people were ill-clad and, because of housing shortage, had to live in dugouts while rebuilding the ravaged economy in the main and stabilizing the impoverished livelihood of the people.

The Korean people who were always stubborn in overcoming difficulties never yielded. The pioneering communist workteam headed by Chin Ung Won at the Kangson Steel Plant initiated the Chollima Workteam Movement which made it possible to step up socialist construction by remoulding many people to be activists making continuous advance and uninterrupted innovation. (From that time on Kangson became the home of Chollima). In other words, the main objective of Chollima Movement is to build socialism and communism at a rapid tempo in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism by remoulding all the people, turning passivists into activists and inducing them to display heroism.

In fact, there were passivists. They were fascist-flunkeys who, with the backing of their own thought and acted in opposition to the policy of the Workers' Party that chose the road of priority development.

of heavy industry with the machine-building industry at the core.

These defeatists tried to wreck the construction work started by the people, alleging that what is needed for the people was not machines but consumer goods. They opposed the Party's policy in company with the Syngman Rhee clique, kicking up a racket by clamouring that "They do not care for the people's livelihood" or "It is wrong to build heavy industry."

However, the workers of the Kangson Steel Plant who remained loyal to the Party came forward with a determination to increase the output of steel from 60,000 tons to 90,000 tons. In those days the country had only one blooming mill with a rated capacity of 60,000 tons. That year the Kangson Steel Plant turned out 120,000 tons of steel and thus became a model factory and the home of the Chollima Movement. In 11 years the steelmakers of Kangson brought their production capacity up to 450,000-ton level, thereby increasing production eight times. This alone proves the correctness and great vitality of the views of the pioneers of the Chollima Movement. Is this not a serious blow to the vile actions of the class enemies, the cat's paws of the bourgeoisie hostile to the nation who wormed their way into the revolutionary ranks in an attempt to hinder socialist construction in the north of the peninsula.

Later, the Chollima Movement thus started made headway under a well-regulated system and put forward tasks in keeping with the specific realities of the country. These tasks based on the Juche idea extensively concern all areas of socialist construction and state activity. They include three basic tasks, namely, work among people, work with equipment and supplies, and work with books.

Performance of these three tasks precisely means carrying out the three revolutions— ideological, technical

cultural— required by the objective reality of socialist construction. Today the Koreans regard it as an honourable duty of Chollima riders and all the working people to make devoted efforts to attain these goals. Inspired by this consciousness, they always rush forward along the road of progress and socialist construction, spurring on the galloping Chollima. I will dwell on the three revolutions later when I deal with the question of Juche. Here I should like to confine myself to explaining the effectiveness of the Chollima Movement by example. This will help the readers understand the scale of this movement and its role in the lives of today's Koreans who apply themselves to socialist construction by remoulding the mentality of people and giving full scope to their talents and capabilities in relation to nature and society.

Chollima made a militant workteam burning with a determination to raise the capacity of the blooming mill at the Kangson Steel Plant eight times.

Let me take an example well-known in Korea. At the height of the revolutionary upswing, the weaver Li Hwa sun, a multi-loom operator, set a world record. In 1968 she tended 72 looms alone. To do so, she had to run, covering 180-200 *ri* in eight hours every day. Thus, she ran 60,000 *ri* a year (300 workdays) if she was not absent from work even a day. This means she covered the whole length of the land of Korea 20 times a year because it is 3,000 *ri*. Let's recall that she wove a million metres of fabrics a year. She is a genuine Chollima rider capable of running a distance of 24,000 kilometres on foot a year, a heroine of our time and a fine revolutionary of Korea.

But the case of this weaver is not unique. Labour innovators increase in number as the days go by and grow to be full-fledged master of revolution and cadres who promote socialist construction.

Members of a mining platoon of the Songhung

brought about an innovation, they fulfilled their yearly production plan which was two times as much as the previous year's in three and a half months.

Today all industries including heavy, light and local industries are advancing at the speed of Chollima, and the skilled as well as unskilled workers are achieving results evoking the admiration of observers. This shows people how malignant and harmful the revisionist and flunkeyist ideologies opposed to the Chollima Movement were. As the respected President said, the Korean people qualified factionalists of those days as rats seeking obscure places to make sly mischiefs while not daring to come out in the open for fear. The Korean people regard them as "enemies of the nation" on the payroll of the imperialists and their lackeys. The situation in Korea calls for energetical promotion of the revolutionary struggle and construction work. The Korean people are ceaselessly increasing the tempo of advance, without resting content with many achievements attained in the vigorous struggle for progress. Every Korean north of the Military Demarcation Line will say that "this is because the country is not reunified and the revolution is not accomplished".

It is self-evident that if the Party's monolithic ideological system had not been established firmly, the struggle could not have been waged against all kinds of harmful ideologies such as revisionism, "Left" adventurism, chauvinism, flunkeyism, dogmatism, capitalism and feudal Confucian ideas. "Because those who are not imbued with the revolutionary idea of Juche and infected with old ideas are inevitably liable to the ideological influence from the outside", the Korean people say. Only when one is solidly armed with the Juche idea and has the revolutionary ideas of independence, self-support and self-reliance in defence, can one root out the old one-sided ideas. This is the stark

ruth proved by the experience of the Korean people's revolutionary struggle.

It is the primary task of the Chollima riders of Korea to concentrate efforts on firmly establishing the Party's monolithic ideological system. Chollima riders are found in every factory, farm, school, port and mine where people live and work collectively. Chollima riders have all been trained in this way.

They are all steadily revolutionizing themselves to become genuine masters of themselves, nature and society. They always concentrate their thought and research on the following question:

"What is to be done to increase the capacities of machines and equipment, to mechanize and automate production?" Among them are rolling workers of the blooming shop of Kangson, coal miners of Anju who devised the drum-cutter to increase output and lighten their labour, miners of the Songhung Mine who devised and introduced into production an automatic machine using compressed air, miners of the Komdok Mine who continue to increase the output of nonferrous metals—ores—the source of foreign currency and riches for all the people—and workers of the Ryongsong Machine Factory who were assigned the task of manufacturing a sheet machine to be installed in the Hwanghae Iron Works. Since workers of the Ryongsong Machine Factory had no machine tools to work on the sheet mill (This was in 1945 when Korea had no sufficient equipment and her economic foundation was weak), they mobilized many small machine tools and succeeded in manufacturing the sheet by working on its big parts with groups of small machine tools.

Everyone adds to the flames of innovation, perfects the equipment, working hard to lay the solid economic foundation of the country, and ceaselessly studies

raise their political, cultural, and technical levels, and thus grow up to be Chollima riders, representatives of the new rising force who do not yield to difficulties and are not discouraged by failure. They, unexcelled record makers, know that where there is a will, there is a way. This is an objective law for them. Viewed from the historical standpoint, what is new and progressive, however insignificant, is bound to win. These pioneers enabled the whole country to gallop at the speed of Chollima, to overcome passivism and conservatism revealed among some people by collectivism and mass heroism and to do away with individualism, a manifestation of selfishness. Every second and minute count in order to accelerate the building of a new society entirely oriented to progress, the motive force of prosperity and invincibility.

The spirit of Chollima pervades everywhere and constitutes the factor of all victories over the sworn enemy of the Korean people.

The enemy is ensconced behind the wall of disgrace they erected as a symbol of division they definitely and permanently desire. The Korean people do not recognize the two zones separated by the Military Demarcation Line. The people in north Korea cannot carry out any great undertakings without achieving reunification of the country and regard it necessary to mobilize all forces to beat the US imperialists. "If we wipe out 100 enemies, it will mean 100 less enemies and if we destroy 1,000 or 10,000 it will be better that much for the world revolution, the revolution aimed at removing the source of global unrest and the source of misery which spells so much sufferings and calamities for mankind." Such is an almost hardened conviction of the Korean people you come across in the streets, at a round-table talk, in a chair of some university department, at an international seminar or academic symposium.

In his treatise published on the occasion of the first anniversary of the death of Che Guevara in battle, in the eighth issue of *Tricontinental*, the theoretical organ of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in 1968, the President said:

"It is imperative to meet violence with violence and crush counterrevolutionary armed forces with revolutionary armed forces."

This is because the more imperialists perish in one's or another country and in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the more free the world will be from their bonds.

The "Chollima" Movement is really an "advancing force".

Once Upon a Time...

Once upon a time...

I should like to begin this chapter with this expression hardened over many centuries according to the tradition of folk story. Thus begin old tales of all countries of the world. The same is the case with epics about heroic deeds. What I am going to tell here is not a tale of fairies, but has a nature of an epic about heroic deeds.

Kim Hyong Jik, the eldest son of Kim Bo Hyon and an ardent patriot endowed with outstanding talent, shuddered at the idea that his country had been definitely annexed by the Japanese, the sworn enemy for many centuries. He, a son of a patriot, never forgot that his grandfather Kim Ung U fought US aggressors, sinking their pirate ship "General Sherman" in 1866 which intruded into the Taedong River which flows down washing the foot of the hill of Mangyongdae, his native village.

He was aware that from the 1830's US imperialism ceaselessly perpetrated plunder, sending armed bandits, shock brigades and expeditionary corps in collusion with Japan, the inveterate enemy for generations, with a view to suppressing the resistance of the Korean people and converting Korea into a base of aggression against all Far Eastern countries and into a profitable market for US commodities. In those days Japanese imperialism received real and active support and aid from US imperialism in seizing Korea. Kim Hyong Jik who cherished love for his country and people in his heart more dearly than any thing else was enraged at such injustice. One day at a

historical contest of students held on the drill ground in Pongsanggol of Pyongyang, he made a speech before the audience to the following effect:

"If we want to undertake the great work of defending the country, we must closely unite.
"Water from springs flows together and forms a big river, which, running over obstacles, discharges into the vast sea.

"What a great force the sea has!
"Spring water cannot float a small boat, but the sea can float a big warship. If we pool our strength, however modest, we can vanquish the Japs that have crept into our country."

Kim Hyong Jik was an excellent orator. That day his friends were convinced that he was right. They immediately expressed their support. Further, Kim Hyong Jik searched for an independent line for the anti-Japanese national-liberation movement. In 1913 when he was 19 years old, he advanced a plan to develop the revolutionary activity from a new angle, a more positive viewpoint. Thus, he thought it necessary to rally his comrades for a long-range work. It was necessary to awaken people and prepare them for an arduous and daring struggle against the brigandish imperialists to be waged not by dispersed force but in a united body. For this it was necessary to build up solid force and prepare genuine arms to drive out the aggressors and liberate the motherland, instead of exercising patience.

When he took up teaching, he began by imbuing students with his ideas. At the Sunhwa School where he taught the national language, history of patriotic movements, lives of heroes of the Korean people, he put up the motto "*Chiwon*" (Aim High!). He did all he could to cultivate the rising generation in a lofty aim. He was

convinced that the sovereignty of the country would be restored and that the struggle of a righteous people prepared to die for freedom is bound to emerge victorious. He held this conviction all his life.

It was necessary to put an end to a desk theory, compromise and vacillation and go over to armed action and, accordingly, to organize. Kim Hyong Jik's idea marked a new epoch in the history of revolutionary struggle against Japanese occupation. He was aware of the urgent need to change from the nationalist movement over to the genuine communist movement.

Tempted by the words "Once upon a time..." of folktale, the writer would like to change the decor and characters, going to Chilgol, a village of South Pyongan Province. It was 1892.

Kang Don Uk, a modest educator and ardent patriot, begot his second daughter. The newborn was named Kang Ban Sok. It was another mouth to feed, but Kang Don Uk was a good head of family, tender and affectionate.

He spent most of his time tending a poor patch of land. Times were hard and taxes deprived him more and more of his harvest. The country was poor. The diplomatic treaty signed with Japan 16 years ago and the trade agreements concluded with the United States and other big powers never abated misery. Korea remained to be indebted and fell a prey to the merciless pillage by foreign capitalists. For about 100 years after that the people who suffered from the flunkeyist and traitorous intrigues of feudal rulers fought to defend the independence and dignity of Korea with honour.

But capitalist powers ever more intensified open aggression, each imposing humiliating treaties upon Korea.

perpetual harassment disturbed the honest educator. He had always hoped that things would improve, but he became aware that things would further aggravate as foreigners trampled upon the motherland. With the arrogance and cruelty of exploiters, nothing would change.

His hatred for the Japanese, the sworn enemy, was strong and contagious. Kang Ban Sok and her brother Kang Jin Sok were educated in militancy from childhood. Kang Jin Sok embarked on revolutionary activity when young, while Kang Ban Sok became very quickly conscious of their reduced and subjected conditions. She felt a fierce repugnance for the backward and reactionary feudal customs and traditions of society, where women were considered as a negligible lot and had to submit themselves to their destiny without jibbing at chores or revolting. She did not know, young Kang Ban Sok, that one day she would be the chairman of the anti-Japanese Women's Association in Fusong. A young model girl faithful to her parents who smelt good of soil, hay, morning dew and the sweat of diligent peasants, she listened to the beautiful stories of heroes who brightened up with their exploits the long past days of misfortunes and sufferings. Feudal and aggressive neighbours and then later the Americans, French, Germans and Englishmen tried to implant themselves in Korea which was considered to be an important route of passage in their aggressive plans for domination on account of her immense wealth of mineral, agricultural, hydraulic and marine resources.

The father Kang Don Uk was unstinted in praising Ulji Mun Dok who rose in arms against aggressors repulsed them in 612, Admiral Li Sun Sin who beat Japanese aggressors by attacking them by surprise Turtle Boats in the 16th century, General Nam I who

twenties punished the invaders and many other patriots who won shining victories over formidable enemy forces. Kang Ban Sok attentively listened to their stories. The atmosphere now became tense and bitter, now animated and cheerful. Her hatred for aggressors of different hues grew ever greater as she grew up.

In 1908 Kang Ban Sok married and left her parents' home for her husband's. The homes of both families were equally modest straw-thatched houses with insufficient living conditions. That day her father Kang Don Uk was sad and, at the same time, happy.

His daughter now became the wife of an educator. Her husband was a teacher with an established reputation as an indomitable anti-Japanese fighter, distinguished orator and able leader of the masses.

Once upon a time....

A happy family life began in the straw-thatched house of Mangyongdae. The man and wife were destined to be a couple, loving and helping each other. The young wife served her parents- and grandmother-in-law well and got on well with her brothers- and sisters-in-law. While striving to imbue the family with the revolutionary spirit, she helped her husband in his political activity. Later she had to change her residence to evade the persecution of Japanese police and help her husband in his revolutionary work. She helped her husband's comrades and many revolutionaries wherever she went.

Her husband, Kim Hyong Jik, was contemplating a change in the course of Korean history by effecting a switchover from the nationalist to the communist movement.

Kang Ban Sok meditated a thoroughgoing reform to change the lot of men and women simultaneously. Kim Hyong Jik often climbed to the top of Mangyong Hill, where he would sit lost in meditation, and he

ometimes composed long fine revolutionary poems. The
fe dedicated herself to the education of her children, to
omestic duties and to helping in the revolution day and
night. Kim Hyong Jik worked out a plan on the course of
action with his comrades. At the time he was contemplat-
ing the formation of the Korean National Association, an
anti-Japanese, underground revolutionary organization
which was most important, effective and completely orig-
inal. It was planned that the Korean National Association
would be expanded organizationally at home and abroad.
Its main objective was to win Korean independence
through the concerted efforts of the entire Korean people
and to build a genuinely civilized country. This under-
ground organization rallied all social strata of the nation
with its revolutionary ideal and awakened their en-
thusiasm. Alarmed at this, imperialism recklessly sup-
pressed the revolutionary movement, imprisoned members
of the KNA, tortured and brutally persecuted the persons
involved so as to obtain information. Kim Hyong Jik, too,
suffered brutal repression. In 1917 he was arrested on the
charge of the "case of the Korean National Association" in
Kangdong. While being escorted to prison, he wrote a slip
to his wife to indicate the spot where the papers concern-
ing the organization were concealed. This enabled her to
destroy all the papers in anticipation of search by the
Japanese police. When policemen raided the house, she
glared sharply at them with disdain and said without
hesitation, "Here, search carefully!" Her anger was so great
that Japanese policemen recoiled, scared at her resolu-
tion and firmness.

When her husband was arrested for the first time by
Japanese police, she was 25 years old and had
married only nine years.

One day after release from his first imprison-
ment Kim Hyong Jik made up his mind to win back n

independence without fail by fighting the Japanese together with his comrades all his life to the last drop of blood. The rising generation will surely crush the enemy however arduous the road to freedom is. Didn't he say this at parting with his comrades for a long journey?

"If our motherland cannot regain independence, life is not worth living.

"I must fight the Japanese aggressors and win, even if my flesh is torn to shreds and ground to powder.

"If I do not succeed in the struggle, my sons will continue the cause, and if my sons leave it unfinished, my grandsons will fight and surely carry on, because we must win the independence of Korea."

He made this determination, looking at the evergreen pine-trees standing majestic and solemn on Nam Hill of Mangyongdae.

Kim Hyong Jik was not a person to yield to the persecutions of the occupationists and still less to brutal gaolers reeking of blood. He moved the centre of his revolutionary activity to the areas along the Amnok River, the border with China. In 1919 the March 1 Popular Uprising broke out sweeping the whole country. Following the uprising, the national-liberation movement of the Korean people entered a new stage. Kim Hyong Jik time and again travelled to many places in and out of the country to propagate new ideas among the people and arouse them to a struggle despite the intensified suppression by the imperialists following the conclusion of the "Mitsuya Agreement" between the Government-General of Korea and the reactionary warlords of north-east China which stipulated for the intensification of surveillance over the Koreans living in Manchuria in particular.

Underground activity, enthusiasm, hope, and sufferings in prison—such was the life of militant exiles.

but the life of Kang Ban Sok was no less hard than that of her husband. Her courage surpassed understanding. Despite repeated advices of her brother-in-law and younger brother to change her residence to evade incessant pursuits of the police, she left Kangdong the next year after the arrest of her husband, after having settled pending affairs.

When her husband was arrested again in 1924, she settled down in Badaogou, in an alien land, and dedicated her life as an ardent fighter and diligent mother to the dissemination of communist ideas, while infusing her children with hatred for the occupationists, cultivating in them a revolutionary spirit and telling them to emulate the firm will of their father. To support her family, she took in needlework and laundry.

One day taking by the hand her elder son whom she was pleased to call "our Song Ju", the mother went along the path leading to Nam Hill from the straw-thatched house. Reaching the top of the hill which looked down on the Taedong River where Kim Ung U, his great-grandfather, had sunk the US pirate ship "General Sherman", she infused her son's mind with hatred for the enemy by saying:

"Your father won't come back even when the ice on the Taedong River melts and green leaves cover the hills. You father fought to regain the country. For what crime did the enemy arrest him? You should grow up fast to revenge your father."

The young Song Ju loved his parents. His father used to take him, holding his hand, to the hill before leaving Mangyongdae. One day the boy heard his father recite something like lyric lines. It was a poem dedicated to Nam Hill entitled "The Green Pine-Tree on Nam Hill." Now he recalls this poem with a heart full of sickness.

*Comrade, do you know
The green pine-tree on Nam Hill
After suffering all sorts of
Hardships under snow and frost
Will return to life
When spring comes around
Again with its warm sunshine?*

The young Song Ju knew that his father was a poet, but perhaps did not know then that he himself was the son of a great revolutionary poet.

Kim Hyong Jik was, in fact, a poet for the oppressed. Arriving at Pyokdong County after the Chongsudong Meeting, Kim Hyong Jik composed a great and beautiful poem at the Wanwol Pavilion.

*Don't mourn, starving masses.
Rise up, my downtrodden compatriots.
As I fight body and soul in the showdown,
My gun cries for vengeance in indignation.*

He wrote many revolutionary poems which ring with cries of distress in the dark period of struggle and the cries of hope for victory over the enemy.

*You wretched Korean people,
Proud of your 4,000-year history,
Happy and joyous for all generations,
Yet you now have no land to call your own,
How can you bear this sorrow?
My body bound and shackled,
Free the body, oh comrades,
With your own hands,
Cheer for independence, like thunder,
Split the ocean and shake the mountains.*

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With your own hands,
Cheer for independence, like thunder,
Split the ocean and shake the mountains.*

O you compatriots without a motherland!
Like dust on the sea
You go adrift.
Don't weep over your lost land.
The day when it will return to you
Is not far-off.

Song Ju recited all his father's revolutionary poems by heart.

Just as he knew the long revolutionary history of the country his father had taught him, so he came to know about the activities of his father and mother and their comrades-in-arms.

His mother did not cease to inspire him to have a determination to fight the Japanese and achieve national liberation by all means. She hoped her young Song Ju would take over the beacon-fire raised by her husband in case he fails to carry out his aim.

She often sang the song she composed for him:

*The land is wide,
The sky is high.
Grow up, my son,
Still higher.*

One day he accompanied his mother to the prison where his dear father was detained. He wanted to tell many things to his father behind the bars. When the police had broken into the house in "search" of the documents concerning the activity of the KNA, he was present

scene. At the time the young Song Ju was only five years old and was to "grow up still higher". He watched the scene, ready to turn upon the intruders to defend his mother and younger brother. He had so many things to tell to his father—about his study, reading, Nam Hill and about his bitter hatred for the Japs. He wanted to shout hurrahs for Korea just as the patriots had done in demonstrations held across the country, about which he had heard. He would have liked to remind his father, above all, of the strolls they had taken together along the winding path on Nam Hill in the dazzling sun of summer and in winter when willows, magnolias, pines and all other trees around were covered with snow. Didn't he try to catch the rainbow, climbing one day the ash tree he loved? He wanted to tell all this and other things to his father who was kept behind bars God knows how long.

Young as he was, how matured he was!

People have the period when they attain moral, ideological and revolutionary maturity. He was still young, but he reached maturity. If being a grown-up means having a correct sense of the reality of the surrounding world, passing a correct judgment on things, knowing one's duties and how to act to discharge them, the five-year old Song Ju was no more a child.

At the news that his father was arrested for the second time in 1924, he crossed the Amnok River when he was 13 years old. He had to travel 1,000 *ri* to reach Badaogou where his mother and two brothers lived. When he arrived, his mother sent him away to Linjiang the night of the very same day to avert a possible raid of Japanese police. He realized the deep thought of his mother and confirmed his pledge to achieve national liberation and regain the nation's independence and dignity.

The hatred of Song Ju against the Japanese was as strong as his great love for his parents. His mother Kang Ban Sok had a busy time, what with looking after household affairs and farm work and helping her husband's friends and the women of neighbouring villages to hold political meetings. His father who had long been actively rallying anti-Japanese fighters for national independence founded the Association for the Promotion of Union of National Organizations in August 1925 in conformity with the requirements of the situation.

Song Ju studied hard. He was often absorbed in study, even unaware of his being in the classroom. Once worried for her son not coming home till late, his mother went to meet him. Night was already advanced and winter was rigorous that year. Finding him deep in study in the cold room, she thought she must make a fire and carefully broke firewood by wrapping it in the hem of her skirt lest she should disturb him. Making a round of the village, the old night watch Li found her there. When he made to approach her to say by way of greetings that it was kind of her to come and heat the school room at night, she stepped towards him in a hurry and put her finger on her lips to silence him. She came out hurriedly from the kitchen and whispered to him, "I came here because Song Ju did not come home till late, and found him buried in his book in the cold room and so I heated the room taking care not to disturb him by making a noise, and was ready to return home, when I saw you come. It is late, but now he is warm and will be able to go on reading as much as he likes."

He read many books. He already knew Marx and Lenin and the October Revolution since his father told him

them. He was aware of the significance of the birth of the Soviet Union for Korea and socialism. Communism which is the theory on justice, friendship and welfare for all the oppressed peoples of the world aroused his sympathy. He found in it the path to the liberation and freedom of Korea.

His father became ostensibly a physician and travelled extensively in Korea and abroad, disseminating the revolutionary idea among workers, peasants and intellectuals. His health had been sinking for some time now.

Even lying in his sickbed in Sonammun Street, his father continued to lead the revolutionary movement.

One day his father called him to the bedside. His health had broken down seriously due to overexertion and long hardships. But he did not lose his presence of mind and his voice remained serene. The will he left to his sons in June 1926 was not merely a farewell or instructions but was an assignment he gave them.

"I part without achieving my aim. However, I believe in you. Never forget that you belong to the country and the nation. You must win back the country without fail even if your bone is ground and your flesh torn."

Can there be anything more heartrending than this will? But where can you ever find a more worthy present than this gift, a great and lofty heritage of a genuine revolutionary, that a father could leave to his sons? Kim Hyong Jik died at the age of 32, with faith in the future of Korea. His death plunged the twenty million Korean compatriots into a great sorrow. In autumn that year the Koreans greeted the great sun of revolution. The great leader, a legendary hero, ever-victorious and iron-willed brilliant commander destined to crush Japanese imperialism for ever and lead the people to victory, emerged on the scene of history, firmly resolved to change the course of history and shape and submit it to the will of the people.

Kang Ban Sok was 34 years old when he passed away. Her health deteriorated due to many years of secondary education as well as her unique aim to give her son a revolutionary education. She made it her duty to make him carry forward the revolutionary cause started by his father and learn from the valuable experience and lessons of his father gained in the revolutionary struggle, and know the actual conditions and prospects of the movement his father had launched for the sole purpose of liberating the country and crushing imperialism in unity.

Kang Ban Sok who was a genuine daughter of a revolutionary and the model wife of a revolutionist was a benevolent mother to the greatest revolutionary and indefatigable comrades-in-arms, and a staunch and indefatigable woman fighter never known before in the revolution.

After her husband's death she undertook the charge of the work of supporting the Paeksan School and taught the Korean language with her whole heart. While devoting her all to the cause of the revolution and the country, she endured her illness and poverty to help friends of her son who came to her home for revolutionary activity. She served them with meals, dried their wet shoes and socks and did washing for them and gave them money to cover the expenses of travel and propaganda. She used the money she had saved penny by penny for the revolutionary cause.

Handing over the two pistols to her son, she told him her father's last request.

"Keep my pistols and give them to Song Ju who grows up and embarks on the road of struggle."

When one day she became aware that Song Ju

four or five comrades in Fusong needed weapons to break through the enemy's tight cordon, she went to Wanlihe at the risk of her life and brought back pistols which were loaded and hidden among chunks of beef.

When her son asked why they were loaded, she replied calmly and firmly:

"Why? I couldn't yield to them meekly, could I? At most, two or three of them might have pounced on me, and so I thought I should finish them off."

She formed an anti-Japanese women organization and extended it to all areas and worked as chairman of the anti-Japanese Women's Association. She educated her compatriots and appealed to them to support the struggle for national independence, and awakened them to the unequal status of women. One day her son induced her to join the communist revolutionary group he formed illegally. She worked energetically to help the Saenal Children's Union and the Anti-Imperialist Youth League founded by her "young Song Ju" who "grew up still higher" and became the great leader.

She did almost by herself the work of distributing the *Saenal* (New Day), the first revolutionary newspaper, in Wanlihe and other faraway villages.

Song Ju was 14 years old when his father passed away in 1926. Admitted to the Hwasong Uisuk School founded by nationalists, he was soon disillusioned at the content of education there. In those days sectarian-flunkeys and nationalists slandered each other maliciously without definite orientation and aim and were engrossed in useless bickering, while scrambling for hegemony. Concerning this, he said later:

"These two factors—the serious factional strife in the Korean national-liberation and communist movements and the leadership divorced from the masses—strongly convinced us that we must not carry

our revolution in that way. We keenly felt that we must go among the masses and rely on them in our struggle, that we must solve our problems by our own efforts, and that if we worked well, others' recognition would be out of the question....

"We can say this was the starting point of our Juche idea."

Grasping the then prevailing situation with perspicacity, Song Ju categorically repudiated flunkeyism and dogmatism and decided to develop the struggle in accordance with the integral revolutionary theory which would one day come to bear the authoritative name of Juche and on the basis of practice.

He explored a new path for Korea while enlarging his knowledge of Marxism-Leninism to apply its theory to the specific conditions and concrete reality of Korea.

On October 17, 1926 he proclaimed the founding of the Down-with-Imperialism Union (DIU), the first genuinely communist revolutionary organization in Korea. This organization marked the starting point of a new communist movement. Thus, the communist movement began to develop on a sound and solid basis, sweeping away all the filth of factionalism, "Left" and Right opportunism, dogmatism, flunkeyism and other "isms" which had nothing to do with the communists of the rising generation faithful to the mottoes put up by Kim Hyong Jik, a genuine revolutionary of Korea, before his death: "A Korean must have the Korean spirit wherever he may go" and "We can achieve Korea's independence only by building up our own strength."

Already in the early years of his revolutionary activity Kim Song Ju saw through the true colours of factional and national reformists who spread unsound ideological trends which did much harm to the Korean nation. The prevailing situation called for a devoted

energetic struggle, real sacrifices and ideas and theories closely linked with the revolutionary practice, but those people only indulged in pompous word play of "Left" and Right opportunistic hues forming different kinds of opposed groups. Hence the necessity for the fighters of the rising generation to sweep away the reaction and lead the revolution along the path of Juche.

Mother Kang Ban Sok who always devoted herself to the struggle for national independence and the liberation of the Korean people had an outstanding talent and an exceptionally firm and generous character. Having actively helped her husband in his arduous and dangerous struggle against the Japanese occupationists, she now wholeheartedly helped her son in his revolutionary work. Though she suffered from dire poverty and her aggravating illness after her husband's death, she exerted every effort in transporting weapons and fulfilling hazardous duties to help her son and his comrades. She was ready to lay down her life while ensuring liaison between the scattered organizations of the young revolutionary movement despite the strict enemy watch.

One day in 1932 the son who had founded the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army received word that his mother was critically ill and dropped in at his home for a while to see his mother, before leaving for south Manchuria to establish contacts with the Independence Army units. Aware that provisions had run out at home, he got one *mal* of foxtail millet and took it home. He was greatly surprised when his mother reprimanded him severely. She did not want him to worry about the home since he had decided to liberate the motherland. She said:

"Spiders won't spin webs over the mouth of a living person....

"You must expand your forces and fight. If you want my opinion, what you are doing for me now is wrong...."

Song Ju never would forget these words of his mother's. He would never forget the tresses of her hair she spread in his shoes lest his feet should get frostbitten. His feet were warm with the tresses of his mother's hair.

Kang Ban Sok was unlike ordinary mothers. For her the independence of the country and the sovereignty of the people came before the family and it was more precious than herself. She thought that the genuine happiness in the life of a mother lay in her sons' entire and unreserved devotion to the sacred revolutionary cause for the liberation of the people and the country.

A woman revolutionary, a daughter of a patriot and mother of revolutionaries, she died a revolutionary fighter on July 31, 1932 at the age of 40 without seeing her cherished dream come true. The last six years of her life were years of a most intense life.

Four years later Kim Hyong Gwon, Song Ju's paternal uncle, died at the age of 31, after having been tortured savagely and condemned to 15 years of imprisonment by the Japanese ruffians. Not a single moment he gave way to pains he had to endure, as a genuine revolutionary, he never faltered or disowned himself.

Kang Jin Sok, his maternal uncle, experienced the afflictions of prison life, privations and agonies. He died a truly faithful revolutionary and fervent militant for the cause of the people and the liberation of the country.

Kim Chol Ju, one of his younger brothers, died a hero's death in 1935. He had been a leading member of the Young Communist League and conducted underground revolutionary activities.

* * *

Once upon a time...

*There was a family of revolutionaries
In Korea.
Its members longing for liberty,
Loving the sun, mountains and flowers,
Valuing life,
Fell halfway
Under the enemy's bullets,
Without realizing
Liberty
Which they cried for ardently.
And in their hearts, alas, was an unfinished song,
The lofty aim of Chiwon.
Adieu, my dear Korea,
A country of morning calm.
Adieu, my beautiful country.
I die entrusting you
To Him,
The man of iron will
Who always carries the rainbow,
Who is ever-victorious in battle,
Brilliant and without equal,
The hero Kim Song Ju.
A dignified son
Of a hero father
And an inflexible mother.
He leads an exemplary life
Bursting with will.
Firm rock defies the tempest.
And the revolution
Will make this country,
With its 5,000 years long history
A paradise for the people,
Where children will be kings,
A country of marvels,
Of day and night calm.*

For the happiness of all
For all who are dead,
For the glory of all heroes haloed
Of our beautiful Korea,
The lofty aim of Chiwon....

A Myth or an Epic?

This poem is not of a renowned poet. It has no other merit than its having been written. It has nothing of the eloquent and moving pathos of the "Song of the Amnok River" or touching simplicity of the song "Grow Up Still Higher than the Sky and Land" the mother Kang Ban Sok composed for her young Song Ju. It may be the work of an anonymous fighter, an energetic chronicler or a popular storyteller, given to narration of facts whose historic authenticity cannot be doubted, but which nevertheless make people dream by their likeness with legends, myths and imagination. We, in fact, find a history admirably constructed with distinct and intricate episodes and concrete characters and completely dramatic plots to supply moving, instructive and inspiring examples.

In July 1930 Song Ju, aged 18, founded the Korea Revolutionary Army and personally organized and guided the short military course to develop the national-liberation struggle of the Korean people to a higher plane, to armed struggle. As a result, members of the Korea Revolutionary Army became well grounded for a positive and premeditated military activities. A groups were active everywhere, from the area east of Jilin in Manchuria to Changbai, Linjiang, Fuson and other towns and villages of south Man

along the Haerbin-Changchun railway, fighting bitter battles against the enemy and achieving great victories.

From that time on, people began to call him by another name. At first, he was called Han Byol, meaning the morning star in Korean. Then, deeming it improper to compare the ever-victorious and clairvoyant great leader to the morning star, his comrades-in-arms who were determined to liberate the country chose a glorious name finally for him for the sake of Korea and the world without consulting with him, hoping that he would become the bright sun illuminating the path ahead of Korea shrouded in darkness. They renamed him Kim Il Sung, Il meaning the "sun" instead of "one" and Sung meaning "be" instead of the "star". Thus, we find ourselves in a symbolic and mythical atmosphere. Annals which are arranged historically and based on dates and facts follow a grand and heroic course from the beginning to the end. Archives and museums have records on the history of the nation which emerged from the dark centuries of decadence and decline like a huge rock abruptly rising from under the ocean and the history of the leader who has cast in his lot with his people, standing at the starting point of the entire Korean people's consecutive victories like the annual rings of a new era.

The history of liberation of Korea began with the birth of the respected leader. From seven to eleven he lived in China with his parents who were regarded as dangerous and revolutionary under the Japanese imperialist regime. When he was eleven he returned to Mangyongdae to make direct contact with his people, his native place, mother tongue and the centuries-old tradition of Korea so as to know the reality of the country better as his father said. At thirteen he came back to China at the news of the second arrest of his father, an indomitable freedom fighter and

er who inculcated tenacity and the idea of *Chiwon* students.

he contemporary history of Korea depended on the termination of a young person who took to his heart the historic mission which he should fulfil with dogged tenacity like the destiny to be carved out by him. His determination is summarized in the following words quoted from President Kim Il Sung's biography:

"I crossed the Amnok River when I was 13, firmly determined not to return before Korea became independent. Young as I was, I could not repress my sorrow as I sang the *Song of the Amnok River* written by someone and wondered when I would be able to tread this land again, when I would return to this land where I had grown up and where there were our forefathers' graves."

He kept his word. He liberated the country and won back the freedom for the Korean people and came back to the motherland where he was born, spent his childhood and waged struggle. We can see the hero-boy in school uniform crossing the quiet ice-bound and snow-covered Amnok River in poems, pictures, movies, posters, plays, operas and other literary and art works of today's Korea.

Every Korean child will tell you about a concrete scene of the heroic epic experienced by an outstanding family of fighters and martyrs. They will sing the "Song of Mangyongdae" with strong emotions and highest respect. You will find that their hearts are thrilled with pride, love and gratitude for him. It is because the serious-looking young person in simple shoes and with modest belonging became the intelligent Head of State respected by all, who is unmindful of his high position and fame, all titles honour and glory, and made Korean children the unio kings of the Republic.

In kindergartens, primary schools, senior mi

schools and the fine Students and Children's Palace in the heart of the capital you will see children of 5, 8, 12 or 15 years old recite lines of the epic about the Marshal's family. Eloquent, coherent and beautiful scenes of life succeed one after another which can be easily woven into a life story as tiles are arranged on the roof, the way I did in this chapter, with a view to stress the value and magnitude of the most beautiful fresco of life that a revolutionary could ever live, carry through and continue to write for the glory of his people, an example for all peoples still groaning under colonial yoke or suffering from racist and imperialist exploitation which still remains in many regions of the world.

To learn to suffer and die for a just cause—such is the moral to be drawn from this epic which has nothing legendary. All its protagonists, in effect, lived, suffered, dreamed, loved and acted like you and I. But they all appear to come straight out of a popular story or a literary work. It is because this history is not a history like others, because one receives the impression that the collective conscience based on authentic historic facts and desirous of elevating the daily occurrences to the level of traditional exploits and something marvellous and symbolic, has acted in the direction of sublimation to present us a transformed version of history.

We know that education is an integral part of human life. It reveals to man the necessity of suffering and dying in this world, of learning to fear death no more and mastering the technique of resurrection. Like physical courage, intelligence provides the surest means to endure trials, so all sequences of this epic are, in effect, based on the key situations. These eventually define the human conditions of tragic actors of a drama. But, as in the legend, the young protagonist who undergoes a number of trials becomes initiated all at once and becomes a hero, while in the myth

created by the collective conscience the events take place in the eternal present which has nothing to do with the historic time, "in those days" as specialists say. In the mythology heroes appear once for all and always remain as such. Some of them are young, some in the prime of age, some, an old peasant, a school guardian or a village teacher. All of them are not subject to the law of time and leave the native home early to have heroic adventures outside the continuous and irreversible human time. In the legend history is reshaped, embellished and revised, while in the epic referred to here we are on a concrete, realistic and human footing.

In the story of the village Nam-ri, the present Man-gyongdae (which means in Korean a place from which one can admire so many landscapes), Kim Ung U, great-grandfather of President Kim Il Sung, sank the Yankee pirate ship "General Sherman". Historical continuity of human time is respected. In less than 100 years his great-grandson inflicted an ignominious defeat on the descendants of the pirates of the "General Sherman". All the family members following Kim Ung U kept firm national consistency without flinching before oppression and barbarous persecution of the Japanese imperialists and then fought staunchly against the US imperialist aggressors in the war (1950-53).

In the story about Kim Hyong Jik who lived an exemplary life, the word *Chiwon* put up in the classroom of symbolic and great instructive significance.

There is no need to prove the symbolic value of determination the boy-hero made crossing the River. This justifies the decision taken by President Kim Il Sung later to rear the Korean children to be the Democratic People's Republic.

The epic we referred to has nothing to do with It is within the reach of man, concretized and re-

embodied in the Juche idea, which—as we see in another chapter of this book—constitutes the core of the ideology, theory and practice of the political system established in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We used the traditional expression "Once upon a time" at the head of each chapter of this grand epic, because the historically authentic events lose none of their historical significance and value even when they are related in the form of an elaborate story of literature.

I should like to touch on the symbolic value of the epic about heroic deeds, while noting its eminently instructive character.

Extensive popularization of the epic about the family of Mangyongdae through books, movies, telefilms, posters and revolutionary slogans has nothing to do with groundless overdone propaganda some people take to. On the contrary, it aims to teach history and, in effect, pursues a more concrete objective, which is to carry on the ideological education of the broad masses by teaching them, from their childhood, revolutionary ethics, the secrets of victory the people won in the wars against the Japanese imperialists and Yankee aggressors and more particularly the fundamental principles of Juche which represent the development of and an original contribution to Marxism-Leninism. Because the Juche-inspired Koreans think: "Marx gave the general law permitting to understand and surmount the critical situations of the revolution, but could not foresee all situations. Moreover he was active in the circumstances of his times. Lenin wisely developed Marxism at the dawn of imperialism and built the first socialist state in the world. His premature death a little after he started building a new society prevented him from solving all problems arising in the building of a new society. But, scrupulously applying the propositions of Marx and Lenin, the great teachers Comrade Kim Il Sung

amplified, developed and renovated the revolutionary theory in conformity with the new social phenomena which took place in the world and in his country. His contribution lies in the fact that he evolved the theory and principles of communism in keeping with the specific reality of Korea in the periods of anti-Japanese struggle and war against US imperialism which called for the conceptional and practical strategy and tactics in conformity with facts unprecedented in the history of liberation struggle of peoples." It is not without reason that Kim Song Ju, who is later called Kim Il Sung, is and will remain in the oral, written and audiovisual traditions of Korea as a child who one day grasped the rainbow, as a boy who travelled 1,000 *ri* for guerrilla struggle, as the leader and organizer of the Saenal Children's Union, as the ever-victorious iron-willed brilliant commander, the theoretician of a new revolutionary movement, the founder of the guerrilla army, the brilliant creator of the Juche idea, the fighter for independence, peace and non-aligned movement, the Marshal and the President of a Republic which has become a great industrial power, the person who can read the secrets of the time and the eternal spirit of his grateful and faithful people to pierce and master the future and make the rising generation radiant and wise.

In the chapter of literature and art given on the principle of Juche we will see how subjects of a historic nature are treated by the collective of creators, producers and artistes of the people who associate brilliantly and successfully the two poles which people often believe antipodal to each other—the ideological orthodoxy and the masters of techniques of literature and art.

In the epic of President Kim Il Sung's family one finds the value of a man's life and of real and historically authentic events. People take an interest in a dramatic situation for its human flavour. They are interested in

adventures oriented toward liberty and cause by chains of implacably coherent events and immobility of the concrete time in which actions take place due to conflicts between the destinies of the revolutionaries on the one hand and of the reactionaries and lackeys of imperialism on the other. The original core of the "Kimilsungist Gest" (It is necessary to call it after his name now that an analysis of Kimilsungism provides us with information on its birth, development and dissemination through mass media) is formed by a concrete hero who has nothing to do with the temporary hero and by the historical and realistic action which has nothing in common with the archetypal action described in legends and myths.

Some people may remark justly that a number of historical facts are transformed in the memory of the masses and ennobled by popular poetic imagination so that they are made a myth. The chronological time succumbs first to mystification, anachronisms increase and individual characters having their proper personalities at first get gradually blurred and fade away from people's memory.

If it is proved that people's memory evolves according to the dimensions forged by mystical thought, we will say that it is also proved that the memory of a great event or an outstanding personage will persist in the memory of people for two or three centuries. It is fully possible for heroes of a gest or an epic to outlive the historical events which will have sufficient time to transform the mentality of a people, to place their culture on a basis of heroic and glorious traditions and convey the message of this people to humanity.

We say on the other hand that the third world countries now live in an epoch of challenge which they have to take up at the risk of being wiped off the world map. They *are* duty bound to mobilize all the mass media and means *c²*

culture to glorify their history, settle their people in their land, preserve their heritages and their proper civilization and inculcate on them the idea of self-reliance and of their being capable of promoting the revolution and construction for their present and future happiness. In 200 or 300 years, these peoples will also forget that they once were colonized, persecuted and trifled with by formidable enemies who believed themselves invincible. It is probably a luck for the once colonials and colonizers that the collective memory of mankind tends to open ever wider the door of dialogue due to forgetfulness.

Historic personages of today will gain in human stature in two or three centuries. And anyway, the memory of future generations will retain, besides their more or less precise recollection, the traditions, manners, sceneries and, in general, all that prove the active presence of their countries and peoples in history. Therefore, the memory will preserve the life of the Koreans at the beginning of the 20th century, the heroic struggles they waged and the victories they secured against the evil forces of all hues and all origins. Because the crushing victory of a small, almost unarmed country over a stronger enemy, to be more exact, over the coalition of powerful enemies, is something different from a simple chance success achieved in a conflict. This victory integrated in the category of myth, legend and epic has an occult meaning which reveals itself only once.

Is it not that an epic is often more truthful than the reality once lived? Doesn't it make history more profound and rich?

In the case of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea art and literature play the weighty role in the history of a country, the rich, instructive and concrete history which has no need to be embellished, mystified or simply retouched.

Digression we made here in relation to the myth, legend and epic has a meaning only as a response to certain unfounded and tendentious allegations, which often slander us and, in general, charge us with all human weaknesses on the plea of defence of historicity.

Juche

When a Korean tells you about his country—about a plan for any field of state activity, about rice, fabric, coal, steel, footwear, dwelling, public health, nursery and light bulb of a factory of Pyongyang—he will never fail to elaborate them on the basis of the “new, original everlasting Juche idea”. He will quote the words of the respected great leader President Kim Il Sung:

“In a nutshell, the idea of Juche means that the masters of the revolution and the work of construction are the masses of the people and that they are also the motive force of the revolution and the work of construction. In other words, one is responsible for one’s own destiny and one has also the capacity for hewing out one’s own destiny.”

Indeed Juche is a programme of life and pith and marrow of politics which gave birth to the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and enables it to continuously make vigorous advance on the road of progress in all spheres.

A prominent specialist in the Juche idea gave kind answers to my questions in series of talks organized during the spare hours in my tightly scheduled sojourn. I received the best impressions from such study, talk and fruitful education hour. At the beginning of this chapter I express my thanks to many functionaries who had helped me.

Then, what is Juche?

This is a great idea which newly enunciated the position and role of the popular masses in the revolution.

construction and in the transformation of nature and society by man.

When viewed from the class relations, this means that among all classes and strata of society the popular masses hold the position of the only masters and direct performers in view of transforming nature and society. The same can be said of even the correlations between the internal forces of each country and between the international revolutionary forces.

In all class societies a handful of exploiters who trample underfoot man's Chajusong are the main force that hampers social change and progress, whereas the oppressed and exploited working masses form an advanced social force that defends Chajusong and tends towards progress.

That is why through the whole period of human history the popular force has been the subject of history and the driving force of progress from the start. Without this force neither advancement of history nor social progress is thinkable.

The popular force has been always the direct performers of all social revolutions preceding the socialist revolution. The more this force was awakened revolutionarily and demanded Chajusong and creativity, the further its position was elevated, consolidated and secured. When viewed from the correlations between the internal forces in one's country or from the international relations, the same is applicable also to the relations of one's country with other countries. The revolution cannot be exported nor imported. No country can make revolution in place of the people of other country. It is because the revolution in each country arises owing to the popular masses' aspiration for independence, increased welfare and progress and is only carried out with their efforts.

As seen above, the position of the working masses as master in the revolution and construction is determined by

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the purpose of struggle and the cause of progress and by the inherent necessity of the revolution and construction.

President Kim Il Sung said:

"The revolutionary struggle and construction work are undertakings for the good of the masses and must be carried out by the masses themselves as the masters."

The masses of the people strive to hew out their destiny by themselves and take part in construction work. They are social beings with the property of Chajusong and creativity. The masses, the master of their destiny, should carry out these changes in accord with their intention, requirement and aspiration. This comes from their inherent nature and conditions their existence. Herein lies the fundamental aim of all their activities. This aim has always been the same and will make the world serve them for ever. All social revolutions human history knows were struggles for liberation without exception. The struggle of the people for socialism and communism is, after all, the struggle to free themselves from all manner of fetters and lead an independent and creative life as absolute masters of nature and society. The standpoint befitting master is manifested in that struggle and construction are aimed at making the working masses lead a worthwhile and flourishing life and carve out their destiny as they want to. The revolution and construction are the undertakings to be carried out by the popular masses themselves. No social force has more interest in the revolution and construction than they. These struggles for transformation and change presuppose that the masses have the ability to be responsible for their destiny. This is why only creativity guarantees their capacity and responsibility as masters.

The Juche idea which deals with all the progressive activities of man on the basis of Chajusong and creativity is a scientific theory that reflects the inherent law of the

outbreak and development of social revolution. Man is, in essence, a social being who breathes the breath of Chajusong. Therefore, he goes against his being shackled and never tolerates others trampling upon his Chajusong or restricting his freedom. Everything that thwarts this due aspiration for freedom will, sooner or later, inevitably touch off social revolution.

In a reactionary, capitalist and imperialist society the exploiting classes monopolize the state power and the means of production. They subjugate the working masses politically and economically, suppress them harshly and impose upon them a life inconsistent with their intention. This shows that where there are exploitation and oppression, there always breaks out the struggle of the people. It is an inexorable objective law.

Furthermore the establishment of the socialist system does not mean the solution of all problems confronting the working masses. So long as the leftovers of old society remain, the revolution should be continued in all fields of ideology, technology and culture.

Every Korean I met during my sojourn was convinced that the Juche idea is an entirely correct revolutionary theory which deals with all aspects of the position and role of the working masses in the revolution and construction and gives a scientific elucidation of the law governing the development of social revolution in our times, and that our times is, no doubt, the era of Chajusong of people, the era of their liberation and welfare.

Man of a Juche type is a completely independent and creative one. He is also the most precious of all beings in the world. His life which is inseparable from society cannot be independent of his times. From this derives the following primary question which the Juche idea raises and explains:

"How should man live?"

"What is the true life of our times, the era of Chajusong, a genuine life keeping abreast with the trend of the revolutionary age in which all mankind is being involved?"

A Korean friend replied to us without hesitation:

"The Juche-oriented and revolutionary concept of life is the only guiding principle which enables us to correctly analyse and assess the problem of human beings and the problems related to social life. This makes man lead a worthwhile life along the true road for man to follow. The great Juche philosophy shows that man is an independent and creative social being and therefore his life should be valued by what he did for the sake of the world surrounding him and accordingly by the importance of the contribution he made to the progress of society."

Naturally, the following question occurred to me.

What is meant by an exemplary, worthwhile and fruitful life in our times, the era of revolution and Chajusong?

This question was instantly replied as follows:

"It is a militant life replete with devotion and self-sacrifice. It is a life permeated with the unshakable revolutionary principle, the respect for man's Chajusong and the struggle for realizing the common aim and ideal of mankind."

All Koreans who are educated in the Juche idea and imbued with the revolutionary idea of the great leader say that a truly worthy life is undoubtedly a life devoted to the revolutionary struggle for the independence, Chajusong and liberation of the people. Man must know how to sacrifice himself to serve a cause more precious and lofty than himself. It is a natural conclusion of logic. In this respect, people view all elements of individualism and egoism as badly as the naive propaganda of, and the blind subjugation to, imported ideas (irrespective of their interests and significance).

My interviewer went on:

"In the different historical stages of social development many authors, politicians, scholars and philosophers set forth propositions and wrote lengthy treatises on human life, and passionate orators and gifted storytellers dealt with similar subject. Some of them advanced revolutionary and progressive theories. On the contrary, others asserted fatalism praising degenerated way of life which lacks substance and runs entirely counter to social progress. These people have the feudalistic and bourgeois view of life."

This reactionary concept is intolerable in Korea.

What does the chronicle of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of Korea show? It shows our contemporaries the best example of worthwhile life through numerous epics of genuinely Korean type imbued with the blood of forerunners and associated with the heroism of freedom fighters and the ardour the Chollima collectives and fighters displayed in state building in the fields of industry, agriculture, science and technology.

In the libraries of north Korea we can see many books on the career and activity of revolutionary forerunners, the reminiscences of the anti-Japanese guerrillas and revolutionary novels depicting the heroic struggle of the people during the anti-US war, 1950-1953. All these books describe the lofty careers of the brave people who cherished deep in their hearts the revolutionary faith and the unconditional loyalty to the great leader even on the scaffold as well as of the martyrs who, believing in the bright future and their being the first pioneers of the Juche idea for its sure victory, sang revolutionary songs or shouted "Long live the Korean revolution!" even at the moment they were executed. Their lifetime was too short, but it was an immeasurably glorious and happy one than a lengthy life despicably shackled and subordinated by others. In our times, too, they bequeathed the inspiring

revolutionary spirit to many Labour Heroes of the DPRK who performed feats in socialist construction.

The unassuming heroes, heroes of the present-day Korean society who are very attractive and dealt with in all the literary and art works, have created paragons of the life of a Juche-type. They gave body and soul to the scientific research work with devotion, fortitude and immeasurable loyalty to the Party and the leader for 10 or 15 and even 20 years and achieved admirable successes in agriculture and industry mainly under the difficult conditions. Furthermore, they registered great achievements in opera, music and all other literary and art activities. In north Korea everyone can cultivate his talent to his heart's content. For instance, we can take the case of Doctor Ma Hyong Ok. He is well known as "reed Doctor" because he contributed to solving the problem of clothing by obtaining artificial fibre from reed abundant in Korea after a protracted research. He set about the research of artificial fibre from the days of Japanese imperialist colonial rule. He could not pursue his research as much as he desired to in south Korea under the occupation of the US imperialists after liberation. Later, he came under the protection of the DPRK and, thanks to the Party's trust in him, he was able to begin his research work taking the lead of a research group.

According to my interviewer, Ma Hyong Ok and his assistants succeeded in obtaining artificial fibre after the failures repeated more than 1,500 times. President Kim Il Sung conferred the honorary titles of "Doctor and Hero of Labour" on the genuine scientist of a Juche-type and upon his instruction a large-scale chemical fibre production centre using reed as raw material was built soon.

This veteran scientist is neither the only case nor a rare one. Thanks to President Kim Il Sung's concern and the Juche spirit with which the entire Korean people are

imbued, hundreds of unassuming heroes are coming forth daily and their exploits are widely known among the broad masses.

During my stay in Pyongyang I saw, in meeting halls or hotel, a series of films, short, medium or long, dealing with unassuming heroes.

One such is the film "The Fourteenth Winter" which portrays the chequered life of young botanist Paek Sol Hui, a specialist in seed research. Her dream was to increase the weight of the seed of a crop five times and it came true at the price of her 14-year-long research, many self-sacrifices, strong will and the devotion of her all to it. Her hope has been realized now. This botanist, Doctor and Hero of Labour, is continuing with her research work and leading a fruitful life.

The film "Star of Korea" deals with a young communist, Kim Hyok, who was active in the early period of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. Encircled by the enemy he threw himself from the balcony of a big building after a fierce fighting in order not to go back on his vow to the revolution.

These films of high artistic value are highly appreciated by the Korean spectators for the historical facts dealt with in them.

The Koreans hold that the faith in the revolution and the fidelity to the great leader mean political consciousness of a high level and flawless lofty spirit. The fighter who once took the road of revolution and swore to himself should keep his pledge even if he gets sacrificed. If he breaks his pledge or becomes weak-minded or turns round halfway or refuses to sacrifice himself for the sake of the revolution, he will inevitably degenerate into a turncoat and disgrace his career, family, country and posterity.

For the revolutionary of a Juche type death is the final test of his unconditional fidelity to the political creed and

the revolution. As seen above, we know such epic well through the family of "young Song Ju".

The Korean revolution demands oneness of the guiding ideology, the Party and the leader. A revolutionary should strive to apply this principle of oneness which consistently shows the ethic that serves as a main yardstick with which to tell a genuine patriot from a traitor or a bogus revolutionary in his lifetime.

My interviewer briefly explained what he meant by the term genuine revolutionary:

"The faith of a revolutionary entirely emanates from the absolute and unconditional trust in his leader who is the banner of the people and lofty hero with an ever-victorious immortal thought. The greatest desire of a Juche-type revolutionary is to make his life so worthy one that he will be awarded the titles of soldier of the leader, the fighter of the Party, namely, such a brilliant life as estimated to have contributed to the revolutionary cause of Juche, that is, the cause of socialism and communism.

"In our way ahead there will be great obstacles, harsh ordeals and sudden changes of the political situation. But no force on earth can check the march of our people who live and fight, firmly convinced of the victory of the revolution and rallied rock-firm around the Party and the leader."

All the Korean people regard President Kim Il Sung not only as the peerless hero of Korea but also as a leader making great services to the world revolution. They talk about him without hesitation:

"Our President Kim Il Sung, a brilliant thinker and theoretician, is a great revolutionary strategist and outstanding leader who leads the cause of creating a new world of Juche to victory."

Then, from where comes their boundless respect for the great leader?

Gabriel Sodissa, teacher of the May 1 Technical College, was firm in the conviction that "President Kim Il Sung is the sun of mankind."

Follows his writing which was carried in the July 1981 issue of the magazine *Korea Today*:

"The Korean people had long suffered exploitation, oppression, aggression and plunder. But today they have become the happiest people in the world under the wise guidance of the great leader President Kim Il Sung who has been devoting his all to the people's freedom and liberation.

"Mankind owes the radical change taking place today in its life to respected President Kim Il Sung who fathered the immortal Juche idea and leads the world along the independent road."

President Kim Il Sung is the absolute leader of Korea. Nothing is more clear than this. His creative talent went far beyond the national boundary. He has become the wise leader of the working masses of the world, a man who rallies, organizes and crystallizes them. The human history of all liberation struggles proves that without the sagacious leader who arms the popular masses with the revolutionary ideology and indicates the road to freedom and happiness they cannot extricate themselves from the yoke of slavery. The Koreans regard it as the supreme privilege granted to them that they are under the guidance of the great leader President Kim Il Sung, the genius of revolution, legendary hero and the pioneer of the most glorious history of mankind in the age of Juche. At the same time, they are convinced that the leader of their nation is the greatest thinker and theoretician throughout all the ages. It is because by virtue of the undying Juche idea he authored in a brilliant way the masses of the people came to know their position and role, their true worth and dignity for the first time in the world history.

A Korean teacher said to us:

"From the dawn of history people have searched for a thought which can illuminate life and struggle. Many thinkers appeared but, so far as man knows, none of them could clarify the problem of position and role of the popular masses in society and their worth and dignity and indicate them meaningful life and the road of struggle. The masses of people have created all wealth and have transformed nature and society, but they failed to recognize the importance of their role and were unconscious of the unquestionable truth that they are the masters of everything and decide everything. They were not aware of the glorious path for them to follow in order to carve out their future. It was only after the birth of President Kim Il Sung's Juche idea that the universal historic task was fulfilled by making people realize their position and role in the world and by illuminating the road ahead of them. This affair of universal significance that brought about a decisive and radical turn in human thought was effected by President Kim Il Sung, the greatest thinker and theoretician ever known in history. For this reason, he is a genius of thought and theory who is a pride of the whole history of mankind. His thought and theory are a loftiest expression of the eager desire the people have cherished from the ancient times. They have become absolute thought and theory because of their profound ideological and theoretical contents associated with the revolutionary activities, their trueness, their steel-like logicity and their invincible vitality."

I think one thing is clear to all foreigners visiting Korea under President Kim Il Sung. The great leader's thought and theory embrace all the fields of politics, economy, culture, military arts, nature and society. They are easy to understand because they are all governed by strict logic. They assume universal nature because all-round answers

are actually given to all problems arising in the revolution and construction of one nation, thereby serving as examples in all the processes of revolution in colonies and semi-colonies. They are also magnetic because they make original contribution to settling the immediate problems of our times, throw rays and hold a stable position among more and more people, advancing it as a fundamental question to build the world based on new order in all spheres of human activity. New order should be in closer accord with the legitimate aspirations of all people, the plundered and maltreated people in particular, the overwhelming majority of people who have the unchallenged rights to life, hope and even dream. Juche, this is a dream translated into reality by man's will.

It is beyond dispute that the Juche idea has brought about rapid progress in all spheres of life in the DPRK: It makes even the most skeptic people who are not communists fall into reverie and warms even the very chilly hearts of statisticians and planning workers no matter what kind of political system they belong to or what kind of economic theories they support.

President Kim Il Sung is not only the great thinker and theoretician of world dimensions (One must read his works to convince oneself of it) but also the brilliant revolutionary strategist who leads the Korean people to one victory after another, makes them take their destiny in their hands and more vigorously advance along the road to progress, and enables them to help other peoples break centuries-long silence and have feasible and decisive means for reverberating their voices among free nations.

President Kim Il Sung guided two revolutionary wars against the imperialist forces of aggression to victory. The war history against imperialism has no record of such brilliant victories over the formidable enemies by far superior in numbers and in military technique.

Without a national army and rear supply base and under the hard conditions where fascist repression reached its climax, the extremely oppressed, colonized and barehanded nation, with such a firm resolve of the Juche-type fighters to surmount any ordeal by all possible means, defeated the aggression army which attempted to bring the world under its domination, clamouring that it would occupy the whole of Asia. In only five years after its national liberation from the yoke of imperialism, this small country was forced to stand up against the allied forces of 16 nations headed by the US that bragged of its military strength as the strongest in the world. Isn't it a real miracle that called forth such a great pride and gave rise to so many myths, legends and epics? Indeed, President Kim Il Sung as a legendary hero used the strategy and tactics which might be taken for mysterious tricks of God in Christian, Mohammedan or other holy-natured religious countries. The victory of the weak over the strong cannot be anything but the feats of God, its angels or churchmen. Human victory duly belongs to a legend and is credited to a genius, the author of the "immortal idea".

The two victories of the Korean people in the anti-Japanese armed struggle and the Fatherland Liberation War are miracles wrought in the world history of war by dint of the brilliant wisdom of the outstanding and extraordinary strategist-tactician. These victories are the two historic events which showed before the world that any formidable enemy cannot break the strength of a people who have become master of their destiny.

President Kim Il Sung said to this effect:

"When the enemy disperses his forces, let us attack and annihilate him with concentrated forces and when he attacks us with concentrated forces let us disperse our forces to harass his rear everywhere.... Only through these activities can the

guerrillas not only preserve their own forces but also protect the people."

President Kim Il Sung has always elaborated and solved all problems in a unique way. His order for struggle and the Juche-oriented method applied to the struggle for the building of a new society entirely aimed at progress and economic might—all these explain why the people respect him under any circumstances.

In order to eliminate the leftovers of the old society ultimately he has pushed forward the construction work of socialist Korea simultaneously on three fronts. It is the three revolutions, ideological, technical and cultural. In the next chapter we are going to see how Korea rose up on debris in only 28 years after the armistice by virtue of its organizational power, effective mobilization of the popular masses and in particular, as people say, "on-the-spot guidance of the great leader" (in defiance of every ominous prediction that Korea would not be able to stand on its feet again for 100 or 150 years).

There is no public building, farm, factory, museum, school or construction site which has no monument, Korean painting, wall painting or big embroidery that portrays the President participating in an opening ceremony or giving instruction to workers, technicians and common people in general on the spot.

They attentively listen to and jot down his words, embed them in their heart, emphasize some sentences of his speech and his words are written in big letters at the entrance or on the wall of the building where his historic visit was made. In Korea every effort is made to bequeath the Juche-oriented teachings of the great leader to posterity for all time and spaces. People often see him chatting, without ceremony, with ordinary workers and peasants, acquainting himself with their knotty problems, learning from them and enlisting their ardour and wisdom, some-

times on a heap of gravel at a construction site, sometimes in the yard of a farmhouse, sitting on a straw-mat or standing. This shows the art of leadership of the sole preeminent Head of State who enabled Korea to work so many miracles. The signs of love and cherishing care for people of the President are seen in all aspects of their life—from the fine-looking uniforms of children, future successors to the revolution, to the celebration of the 60th birthday of an ordinary old man. I should like to point out that the 60th birthday is of particular importance because people in Korea could hardly live more than 60 years for centuries. Today all the Korean people hold that man's real life, the prime of life, starts at sixty, and keep celebrating the sixtieth birthday well. People find in it a new notion of happiness. The Korean people's happiness of today lies not in piling up material wealth or in squandering their assets at random but in devoting themselves to the grand cause of creating the world in which the masses of the people will be the absolute masters of the revolution and construction and they will have the strength to propel the revolution and construction for the happiness of all mankind and thus in glorifying the auspicious name of the great leader. This hope to build a new world will be realized when the Juche idea is embodied in all the spheres of the revolution and construction. The Korean people are confident of their future, with a conviction that a new world will be built before long.

Some Precepts of Creed for the Use of Industrialists

Some people call the rate of development of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea a wonder of the 20th century. To speak of wonder, regarded as an extraordinary thing of its kind, inexplicable and of a magic and supernatural character, it is not surprising to consider the advance of the Korean people towards progress, prosperity and economic power a miracle. In fact, few people were able to foresee this miracle, conceived by people and performed entirely by their own hands. Also few are people who can today explain it without referring to what people call "three precepts of the Juche creed".

Three revolutions are at the bottom of the success. They are represented by the three red banners which open the march of an enormous mass movement. The ideological, technical and cultural revolutions ensure that everything is carried out successfully and thoroughly without any failure and mistakes as if they were planned. The system which rules the march was tested through the great battles won over US and Japanese imperialisms. The characteristic feature of the Juche idea lies in satisfying all needs of the revolution in keeping with the country's situation by the original leadership which had been recognized long before by the entire people as infallible. This idea truly prizes creativity with Chajusong as the basic criterion and displays the organizational ability, extraordinary wisdom and insight of a person whom all people of this society in a

perpetual onward movement call "Our beloved Comrade Kim Il Sung".

Ideological Revolution

It is an inexorable objective law that a revolutionary struggle breaks out where there is exploitation of man by man and Chajusong of the working masses is trampled underfoot. Proceeding from this law, we can easily understand the law promulgated by the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea on August 10, 1946. Promulgated on that day was a law on the confiscation and nationalization of factories, mines, power stations, railway transport, communications, banks, trade, cultural establishments and, in general, all sectors which had been owned by the Japanese state, the Japanese corporations and individuals and by the Korean traitors to the nation. According to the law, everything which the Japanese had built, encouraged and managed and developed at the cost of the blood and sweat of the Korean people on the Korean soil was turned over to the legal ownership of the people. Because, in fact, the Japanese, pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation had not developed Korea's industry for the sake of the Korean people themselves. They had built the industrial establishments to plunder the country's natural resources and amass enormous colonial profits by exploiting cheap manpower to the utmost. The Korean people suffered from starvation and poverty until the day of liberation while their masters were squandering the riches and providing war supplies for the aggressive war.

Already in a year after liberation, various democratic

tasks were carried out for the sake of the working masses. The people's committees, a genuine people's power, were set up and consolidated. After that, the agrarian reform was enforced. The land owned by the imperialists and landlords was confiscated and distributed to the peasants free of charge. The Labour Law and the Law on Sex Equality were enforced and measures taken for building a popular educational system. Thus, the foundation for the building of a democratic independent and sovereign state of Korea was laid.

Thanks to the Law on Nationalization of Major Industries, the backbone of Korea's future economy was built in such a way as to bring about the prosperity of the country and promote the welfare of the people. This law set before the people new tasks such as of providing materials and manpower needed for rebuilding the destroyed enterprises and successfully operating the factories and so on.

The entire workers and technicians had to make strenuous efforts to improve their technical skills and learn advanced sciences diligently. At the same time, the peasants were called upon to increase their harvests more than before and provide the factory and office workers and urban dwellers with enough food.

And measures had to be taken to protect the gains of the revolution. At that time, all political parties, public organizations, workers, peasants, intellectuals and other social circles came out to defend the nationalized enterprises against the acts of sabotage and terrorism of the pro-Japanese elements, traitors and reactionary elements.

The task was difficult and complex, but it had to be carried out at any cost. The people, united in a body and as one man, had to take up all challenges, surmount all difficulties and secure victory.

To carry out all these tasks, the factory and office

workers had to assume a new attitude towards work. First they had to endeavour to take the utmost care of and economize the property of the state and the people at all times with great attention and zeal. To do so, the activities of people should be based on a high revolutionary spirit. The question was to mobilize the abilities of people, cultivate their spirit of collectivism, encourage their initiatives, remove bad instincts and, in a word, to transform the nature of people, not in the direction of turning them into machines for producing consumer goods as one might believe them to be, but rather in the noble and pure direction of remoulding them through work and for work: namely, to cultivate them in the sense of responsibility, Chajusong and creativity. This revolutionary spirit had a bearing on everyone. The whole of society was mobilized to make this spirit prevail everywhere—at all levels, in all sectors of human activity, in family, at kindergarten, evening school, factory and rural village. A new generation is born and should constantly struggle against the after-effects of the past—ideologically, trained at the Juche-based schools, technically, mastering advanced science and technology, and culturally, transforming mentality, with a view to assimilating better the new ideas. Because as long as the remnants of the old society persist and exert constant influence, the independent and creative life of the working masses is shackled in one way or other. Therefore, the popular masses should continue the revolutions in the spheres of ideology, technology and culture even after the exploiting classes were liquidated and a socialist system established.

Technical Revolution

Today the Korean people are proud of their achievements in all areas of activity which they carry on for their present happiness and the happiness of the new generation. This is proved by the slogan "We envy nothing in the world" hanging on the wall of the playroom of the creche attached to the Kangson Steel Complex, which is the "native place of Chollima".

The chief engineer of the complex said:

"The Japanese imperialists who turned Korea into a supply base for their aggression of the Asian continent built a steel plant at Kangson, an important communication centre. This steel plant was built in 1939 and it was only equipped with a small rolling mill and two electric furnaces in 1945, the year of liberation. Its annual capacity of production was no more than 10,000 tons. It had no Korean metallurgical technician. At the time of liberation the plant was too seriously damaged to operate. Electric motors had been burnt, and electric furnaces were inert on the debris like dead men.

"We were quite surprised, perplexed and embarrassed when on October 9, 1945 the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung who had returned to the homeland in triumph after accomplishing the historic cause of national liberation, came to visit us. We were the first people he decided to see, even before going to Mangyongdae where his grandparents were living. It was, after all, his native place and everything as his homeland, the village he must have missed. Moreover, it was situated on the way, this village which he had left 20 years before to wage his long anti-

Japanese revolutionary struggle. People did not know what to do and where and how to begin. We welcomed him in an indescribable transport of emotion and joy. Yes! We adored our great leader, legendary hero and the sun of the nation. Just imagine that he sat among us, in his military uniform weathered in the long years of bloody struggle, and simply called us comrades and the masters of the country. We were quite moved by his unbounded trust, and resolutely rose up to restore one electric furnace in only two months. In the December of that same year, we produced the first molten iron. After that we built many shops such as of drawn pipe, wire rope, welded tube, wire drawing, section-steel, and 6,000-ton press by our own efforts. You have just seen that our complex is completely automated and operated by remote control. Now we work seated before closed-circuit TVs."

The story told by the chief engineer at a steel complex of Korea was not a dream intended to make me marvel or simply to startle me. That gave me a stronger impression because it was quite obvious. The story looked like a beautiful dream because he spoke it as if it happened only yesterday.

In a room of the Korean Revolution Museum there are kept a lump of wall and a simple chair which, on August 3, 1953, just one week after the ceasefire signed at Panmunjom, saw themselves elevated to the status of sacred historical relics, of which people are proud.

That day the great leader who came to Kangson looked round the compounds of the steel plant walking through the path scattered with bomb splinters and overgrown with weeds and then pointed to a half-burnt white poplar to the steel workers and walked to the spot in big strides, saying, "Let's sit here and have a talk, taking a rest...", and invited them to sit by his side. One of the workers hurriedly fetched a chair and offered it to him. But

he, the revolutionary hero, put it aside and said: **"How can I alone sit on a chair when you don't?"** Then he sat free and easy on a block of a bomb-demolished wall. Listening to their suggestions concerning the restoration of the plant, he stressed that the destroyed plant should be rebuilt by the efforts and technology of the Koreans themselves, and it should not be restored to its original state, but rebuilt and expanded into a modern metallurgical plant. He went on to say that the restoration of this plant should be kept ahead of other factories so that enough steel might be produced to ensure the rapid development of all other branches of the national economy. Then he spoke of the order of priority in the development of industry. From that memorable day, wonders and innovations were created day and night in succession. They overfulfilled their production plans by innovating techniques and exceeded the work norms and brought about new records.

Today a struggle is waged to attain a new grand long-range goal of the country to produce 15 million tons of steel. The workers of the Kangson Steel Complex are confident that their road ahead will be bright with innovations and new exploits. In the period of about 30 years a new generation has grown up and the white poplar in the plant has grown old, but the memory always remains intact.

On that day in 1953 the poplar was gaunt and scorched, but today its branches are overgrown with green foliage and thick. The tree became a silent yet clear witness of the talk of that day.

Today the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has turned into an industrial power recognized by the world. Gigantic industrial centres have sprung up everywhere, extending over tens of *ri*, and blast furnaces have risen majestically on the horizon. Along the coasts, overgrown with reeds only some time ago, stand rows of newly-

erected ultramodern factory buildings as far as the eye can reach. These buildings are well harmonized with storehouses for raw materials and concentrated ores which are connected with long-distant pipelines, and also with the belt-conveyors stretching across vast plains to the continuous sintering ovens. These installations are all of Korean make. They are a fruit of Chajusong and creativity. These huge pipelines cross 1,500-metre high mountain ranges and pass through valleys, conveying concentrated ores from mines to factories without interruption. I watched various operational processes of furnaces through TV screens at the control room of the Kim Chaek Iron Works and the Tae'an General Heavy Machine Works. There was not a single smelter working in sweat before infernal molten iron with a conventional iron rod as in the past and as in the third world countries at present. Here every effort is being made to remove the toil of the workers by improving the working conditions and introducing mechanization to the maximum, because man is regarded as the most precious being in the world. The traces of toilsome, heat-affected labour are no more and so are insanitary conditions and practices of neglecting security measures. The environment is respected. Even the exploitation of a gold mine is stopped when the site—in this country eminently fit for tourism in general three-quarters of the land are mountains—is affected, ravaged or polluted due to it. People work in comfort and safety, and produce better and more. They tell you proudly that after the building of such and such factories or workshops, production increased 10, 15 or 20 times. Who will ever doubt it?

At the end of the explanation by a cadre of a rolling plant, a tractor factory, a plant turning out simple kitchen utensils or a factory of large household electric appliances, you hear him say in a moved voice that "the achievements you have just witnessed in reality are precisely the

Juche-based creations of our people. ... In fact, the history of our factory is unthinkable apart from the wise and meticulous guidance of our respected great leader. These successes are the product of his great affection for the people and his immense solicitude for the working masses. They are also the result of the successful transformation of nature and society by displaying the Juche spirit which inspires and leads us to incessant creation and miracles." This is not a rigmarole but an expression of gratitude.

I paid a long visit to the Taean General Heavy Machine Works and cannot pass without mentioning the impressions that visit left on me.

Taeon

Today Taean is a place where the Taean work system was born while the Kangson Steel Complex is widely known as the home of Chollima.

There is a general heavy machine works in Taean which turns out equipment of power stations such as transformers, generators, electric motors and the like.

President Kim Il Sung (whom one sees represented on a monumental fresco in the hall of the central building, surrounded by the workers of the factory, offering advices and "giving his on-the-spot guidance"—the formula consecrated in Korea which is in wide use) came to Taean on December 6, 1961 to implant and establish a system of work, which he personally confirmed later by visiting and discussing the matter with the workers many times.

He stayed at Taean more than once and indicated the

road to follow so as to turn the factory into a large complex serving as a model for hundreds of other factories.

On August 25, 1975 the President visited Taean again to choose the site for building the turbine shop. The shop manager who accompanied us said with a pride, "For the sake of these shops alone the President paid four visits to our works and gave instructions".

The shop manager who was an engineer said to me:

"The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung set forth the important goal of producing 100,000 million kwh of electricity at the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea. We will achieve this goal in the near future. This is quite possible."

This works produces equipment for hydroelectric power stations and for metallurgical, cement and chemical factories and satisfies the domestic needs, and already other countries place orders with the works for such equipment. In this workshop people are working busily around machines, turbines, 100-ton cranes and other equipment, and these are the products of the workers themselves. Thanks to the high level of mechanization, labour has become easy, especially for women. Many couples of workers are working at the factory, they live in the residential quarters not far from their workplaces. The houses are inundated with the sun and their windows are garnished with decorative plants and various kinds of seasonal flowers. There is a creche in the factory compounds, very near from the workshop and the houses, so mothers, in the work hours, can leave their children to the nurses who are always serviceable and smiling. Mothers will do shopping at the store in the compounds and get back their children when the work is over and go home happy and with a pride that they have carried out their duties as all other citizenesses of Korea who respect themselves.

While going through the large 8-metre-across-gear-cutting shop, I saw highly modern equipment. Some of them had been imported from a foreign country. Before I asked a question, he explained: "Usually we are building all factories, big or small, with our own forces without relying on others. Of course, we once benefited by the aid and experiences of fraternal countries including China and the Soviet Union. However, it was only a stage in industrialization which for us was vital and of foremost importance since immediately after liberation. Moreover, what is decisive is to rely on oneself and none others. However this does not mean refusing the use of foreign-made machines or obstinately declining to learn from others or categorically rejecting all cooperation with other countries. We are equipped with up-to-date technology. We welcome everything if it is helpful to the implementation of our tasks and gaining time. Only, this is not the rule, we should in all circumstances make our machines on the spot and gain time. Because it takes long time and needs much foreign currency to import machines from foreign countries, since no one offers us anything free of charge."

We visited the assembly shop of giant transformers for chemical fertilizer factories. The workers were absorbed in work, some around a tank, others among thick cables and glazed wires as thin as silk thread, and yet others skilfully handling various sorts of copper or rolled steel plates. All the employees were in continuous innovation and constantly making new records in all processes of production. Mechanization was introduced to improve production efficiency five times, thus productive activities became far easier.

In general, the Koreans are proud of showing foreign visitors their products made by their own efforts or through technical innovations of advanced workteams. They also view it as an honour to prove themselves as a people

capable of excellent achievements. Passing before magnificent buildings, your interpreter, your guide or your driver rarely forgets to tell you that they were constructed in six, nine or eleven months. A street lined with multi-storey apartment houses on both sides has emerged from debris in only 13 months. The magnificent Pyongyang Maternity Hospital and the Changgwang Health Complex are really examples of unprecedented speed of construction. At Tae'an the engineer also stressed the great speed of production.

After looking round the shops, we came back to the main building of the factory and talked about the works and other problems and exchanged views in a friendly atmosphere. Koreans knew the secret of creating such an atmosphere. We picked up cigarettes from a wooden box and had a smoke in silence. The box was painted with lacquer, inlaid with mother-of-pearl and decorated with various kinds of flowers, birds, wild animals, domestic animals, mountains, plants, torrential flow of water. In other words, it was adorned with everything simple, grandiose and beautiful of this country where four seasons are distinctive, and morning is clear and bright.

The shop manager went on to say:

"The workteam members in charge of production of transformer of large capacity boldly resolved to produce one 200,000 kva transformer instead of making two 100,000 kva transformers, based on the experience gained in the past. All employees of our factory supported their proposal and inspired them to make further efforts although some were apprehensive whether they could perform it within the set time."

The engineer calmly told us of the great successes gained by the workers of the shop before the balls of glazed wires as thin as silk thread: "These comrades increased the output of electric wires 2.5 times, through incessant

technical innovations, as compared with the same period of last year." Such records are common, because all people dash forward at the speed of Chollima.

Let us listen to the shop manager who explained the figures shown on the large notice board.

The growth rate between 1961 and 1975 was as follows:

Gross output of electrical machines . . .	4.1	times
Generators	13.5	"
Transformers	3.9	"
Electric motors	2	"
Number of technicians	4.3	"
Innovation proposals introduced	23,320	items

The ratio of engineers or associate engineers to workers in this factory is 1:7.

The workers manufactured in only ten days a large 1,270 kw d.c. generator which constitutes the heart of a 2,500 hp diesel locomotive.

This really surpasses our imagination. Here nothing seems to be impossible. The Koreans like to surpass one another. They demonstrate this to the world through their miraculous successes scored in the economic field.

The DPRK is a model of socialist development for the Marxist economists. This country first of all got rid of the "illusion about money", the difference in salaries is little, and consumption increases with the growth of production. On the other hand, Korea has achieved great success in parrying disparity between town and country generally caused by development. Per-household incomes in the countryside are almost the same as in towns. This situation made it possible to avoid the expansion of urban population owing to the exodus from the rural areas. Since taxes were completely abolished in 1974, the state finances itself with the profits gained by the nationalized enterprises and cooperative farms.

I came to realize that the management system which was introduced in the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant in 1961 has very quickly borne great, undeniable fruits and displayed its vitality, because it splendidly embodied the principle of collective life.

Freed from old bureaucratism, selfishness and egocentrism of the departments of management, production or supply, all office workers, technicians, engineers and management workers feel themselves jointly responsible for better or for worse. They all manage the factory in most excellent conditions which facilitate understanding and comradeship. The superiors help their subordinates, the informed teach the less-informed, shops work in close cooperation with each other not for more money, or benefits or privileges, but to further the interests of the state and the people.

The Taean work system is based on the principle which consists in uniting all people with one ideal and in giving full play to their devotion and creative spirit. By this system the best results have been scored.

All apparatus can display its power only when it is combined with a proper work method corresponding to its capacity. The reorganization of the apparatus serves no purpose if people continue to manage in a bureaucratic manner. At Taean all the workers, technicians, administrators and political workers take part in the management of the factory. The collective is in charge of production.

The Party committee of the factory is composed of Party functionaries, administrators, technicians and front-rank workers. The Party committee adopts a line of conduct judged correct by the community and measures approved to be adequate by all, after minutely studying the situation of the factory and taking into account its objective conditions. Thus, all problems will be solved correctly and

great innovations brought about in production. "The secret of our success lies precisely in maintaining all apparatus in action and stimulating all people to act," the engineer said and added in an exultant tone because he was convinced of the efficiency of this system:

"Those who directly guide production also work out the plans with the participation of the broad producer masses. Of course, as you know, planning is a serious matter in the socialist economy. The plan mapped out without the participation of the producer masses is a subjective plan and so is bound to fail sooner or later. Because imposing a subjective plan on lower units is an act of bureaucratism. The allegation that the workers are always inclined to prefer only easy work, is also an expression of bureaucratism. We should trust in the revolutionary spirit of the working masses because the working class is the main force in socialist construction."

Trust itself is already a programme. In 1957 when the Workers' Party of Korea was in a difficult situation, the workers were directly asked to advance their views on measures to surmount the crisis. Cadres told them frankly of the situation prevailing in and outside the country. They also explained to them that the only way out of the situation lay in accelerating the building of an independent economy. Everything had to be pushed forward in unison. In 1962, the second year of the Seven-Year Plan for the development of the national economy the state set forth the goal of producing 1.2 million tons of steel. Eight years later, in 1970, the output of steel reached 2.2 million tons, and in 1976 its production capacity rose to four million tons. Thanks to their creative power, powerful bases of production, inexhaustible raw material and fuel resources, developed science and technology, the Korean people were able to put forward the ambitious figure of 15 million tons of steel as one of the ten long-term objectives of

socialist economic construction. The people who are diligent, disciplined and trained in the school of Juche will fulfil the perspective goal. There is not a shadow of doubt that they will surely plant the flag of victory on the height of 15 million tons of steel in the near future.

Therefore, the Taean General Heavy Machine Works built by the Korean people constitutes a pilot experience which illustrates marvellously the Juche theory based on the practice of the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions. The Taean work system embodies the scientific principle of management of enterprises completely free from the remnants of capitalist economic management. It is a pilot experience in the industrial management and production, just as Chongsan-ri is a pilot experience in rural construction in socialist countries. The agricultural guidance system deserves to be dealt with in a separate chapter of this record of travel.

Chongsan-ri

"One for all and all for one"

"For the successful solution of the peasant and agricultural questions under socialism, it is imperative to adhere firmly to three basic principles in rural work.

"First, the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions should be thoroughly carried out in the rural areas;

"Second, the working-class leadership of the peasantry, the assistance of industry to agriculture, and the support of the towns to the countryside should be strengthened in every way;

"Third, the guidance and management of agriculture should be brought continuously to approach the advanced level of enterprise management of industry, the bonds between all-people property and co-operative property should be strengthened, and co-operative property should be steadily brought closer to property of the whole people."

Kim Il Sung

In 1964, President Kim Il Sung published his work *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country*. In the work he analysed the achievements and experiences gained in the building of a socialist countryside in the past and elucidated the essence and content of the rural question and concrete measures for its final solution.

The theses made it clear that under socialism the

peasant and agricultural questions consist in developing the productive forces of agriculture to a high level, in making the peasants well off, abolishing the backwardness of the countryside left over by the exploiter society, and gradually eliminating the distinctions between town and country, on the basis of the steady consolidation of the socialist system established in the countryside.

President Kim Il Sung singled out the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions as an important revolutionary task to be promptly carried out in the countryside for the final solution of the rural question following the completion of socialist cooperativization. He defined the intensification of guidance of the working class over the peasantry and the assistance of heavy industry to agriculture in every way and active support of the towns for the countryside as one of the basic conditions for removing the distinctions between town and country.

And the improvement of guidance and management of the rural economy, development of cooperative property and maintenance of correct relations between all-people and cooperative properties are defined as major conditions for accelerating the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the countryside, effectively realizing support of towns to the countryside and successfully solving all problems arising in the building of a socialist countryside.

The rural theses of President Kim Il Sung not only defends the Marxist-Leninist theory on the building of socialism, but also develops it to a higher level and illuminates the ways of scientific and planned solution of problems at all moments and for each case. This is embodied in the daily life of the Koreans, in the defence of the country, in the educational system, in the world outlook and way of thinking and actions of all citizens of the DPRK.

At the Second Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party in November 1961,

President Kim Il Sung pointed out the ways for radically improving the economic guidance and management by fully applying the Chongsan-ri spirit and Chongsan-ri method. Immediately, in December that year, in order to solve this problem he visited the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant, where he instituted the Taean work system, a new industrial management system.

We have seen how he made a detailed analysis of the shortcomings of the work system and defects revealed in the work method and work style of the functionaries and how he proposed, on the basis of collective guidance, a new system fundamentally different from the old one.

In December 1961 he gave instructions to establish a new system of agricultural guidance to adopt the advanced industrial methods of management and production in the rural economy. Later on, the President saw to it that discipline be tightened in the management of all the national economy on the basis of democratic centralism and that unified planning be introduced in industry and agriculture, which answered the needs of socialist economic law, combined political-moral incentives with material incentives, and centralism with democracy, and prevented at the same time Right and "Left" deviations. All Koreans recognize that the President took such measures and inculcated on the people concrete ways to apply the Chongsan-ri spirit and Chongsan-ri method and made a great contribution, both theoretical and practical, to the acceleration of the cause of the working class not only in Korea but also in the world.

Of course, we paid a visit to Sukchon County; South Pyongan Province, where a new agricultural guidance system was established and had a long talk with the chairman of the management board of the cooperative farm before and after the inspection of various places of the farm. The talk covered matters of interest to foreign visitors,

such as education, rest, medical assistance, housing and all other cultural and educational facilities.

The chairman of the management board was a beautiful woman of about 40 who was dark-complexioned, slender and well-dressed. She greeted us at the entrance of the village. She was a native of the place which had been called "barren land" for a long time. Today everything here is only clad in verdure, flowers are in full blossom, water flows merrily, land is covered with orchards green and thick. Pastures, paddies, maize, barley and wheat fields stretch far and wide. But under the colonial rule of Japan, the land was extremely arid and sterile. Three landlords monopolized the whole land here. Every year the peasants harvested an average of less than 500 kilogrammes of barley or millet per *chongbo*, which were taken away by the landlords.

However, the Korean land is fine and generous. Here mountains occupy 75 per cent of the land with its many rivers and streams. If the land had been well cultivated and turned into fertile soil, the tillers would have had food grain enough and to spare to fill up the storehouses. However, the harvests of the peasants had never been left in their hands. The rulers, feudal lords and all hues of aggressors appropriated the land and divided the harvests among themselves with utter disregard for the native people, the genuine masters of the country's resources. Everything belonged to foreigners: lands, rivers, mountains, harvests and plains extending wide in the lower reaches of rivers in the central and coastal areas—the Pyongyang plain marked with grey, white and milk-white hills, the Yonbaek and Honam plains to the west, the Hamhung, Kumya plains to the east, and the Chinju and Kimhae plains to the south.

How much crops has the Korean soil yielded during its 5,000-years long history? How much arable land of Mangyongdae in Pyongyang has the Taedong River

watered, coursing through the abundant foliage of its shores and skirting round its small islets like flower baskets? Because there is no desert in Korea, all land is arable. In some areas land is so fertile that two crops were reaped in a year. However, Chongsan-ri where a tributary stream of the Taedong River runs through was sterile and denuded, exposed to devastating floods and to the caprices of inclemency. It was unfit for human habitation. The rural inhabitants were extremely impoverished, whereas the soil was eroded more and more rapidly.

Today Chongsan-ri has been converted into a farm which has given birth to the Chongsan-ri spirit and the Chongsan-ri method. The chairman of the management board of the farm began her explanation by expressing great respect for the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung:

"Thanks to our beloved President Kim Il Sung, the socialist rural villages of our country are visited by bumper harvests every year. This year, too, we have gathered in a bumper harvest and are full of joy because we have attained the height of 9.5 million tons of grain. All this is due to the remarkable progress made by our new agricultural guidance system which has enabled us to effect our work admirably on the scientific and technical principles and in keeping with the demands of Juche conceived by the great leader."

On February 8, 1960 the President paid a visit to the village, where he guided the general meeting of the ri Party organization and had a talk with the peasants for a long time under a willow tree, a witness of so many historic days ever since.

The chairman told us that since liberation Comrade Kim Il Sung visited Chongsan-ri on some 90 occasions, to the great happiness of the farmers, didn't she? Yesterday, the peasants were withdrawn into themselves and tied to the old and backward ancestral customs, but today they

are happily working, learning, cultivating themselves and enjoying the collective life to the full.

The chairman said to us with a pride:

"Our farm is equipped with 110 tractors, more than 60 rice transplanters, 1,000-odd farm machines, lorries and so on. All peasants of our village joined the cooperative in the spring of 1957. The cooperatives were organized with the village as the unit at that time, so nine cooperatives were formed, each comprising 40-50 households. The cooperative we had belonged to at the time was called Amhwa. The monument you see before you was erected on the thrashing ground to offer an eternal glory to the great leader President Kim Il Sung. In August 1958 the cooperative movement came to completion on a nationwide scale.

"Before liberation the livelihood of the peasants here was hard. I was a woman peasant who with so many other peasants lived in a most wretched misery. We had nothing, nor were we provided with the minimum living conditions. Happiness, wealth, welfare and pleasure were all enjoyed by the landlords alone. Those villains built their houses on our land and exploited us at their will. The soil was sterile and our straw-thatched houses were shabby. Our children, who were not yet their farm hands, were obliged to serve the masters. There was not a single school, playground, recreation home or cultural facility. What a dark misery! After liberation we came to possess land by right. The people's power distributed land to us, and we immediately got down to work zealously, without rest, and made it fertile very quickly, when the anti-Yankee war broke out. The three-year war was sanguinary and devastated everything. More than 5,000 bombs were dropped on our ri alone. The devastated and cracked land brought us poverty and starvation again. However, despite all sorts of calamities, we continued to produce as much more cereals as we could to feed the freedom fighters, our brothers who

were fighting on all fronts and as heroes of our time against the enemy, the 'most powerful on the earth' as they pretended to be. After the war, everything was repeated as after liberation. In fact, we organized agricultural cooperatives in 1953. At that time, the cooperative was made up of 20 *chongbo* of land and 16 farmhouses, but we lived happily, though not satisfactorily, with a pride in the communal life and knowing the joy of self-reliance. At the time, we had only an ox and a few wornout farm implements, and even they were out of order."

I listened to the woman without feeling tired. When we arrived at the farm, she impressed me as frail, timid or simple, but her eyes glistened, her movement was measured and her spirits were always alive. The Korean women who are gracious at all places and circumstances, give in fact the impression of extreme brilliance of glass and so appear to be frail. But it suffices to hear them speak about the great leader Comrade President Kim Il Sung, or about their own country with a history of 5,000 years, or about heroes of liberty who had added lustre to the history of their country, or as at this moment, about their responsibility on the well-known cooperative farm, to be convinced of their sturdiness and their unfailing attachment to the Juche idea not only implanted in them but also having become their second nature.

This idea is flowing in their veins like juice of a several hundred years old tree. Shakespeare, for once, was mistaken when he said, "Frailty, thy name is woman." In Korea women are equal to men and work in responsible posts.

This is a symbol of bivalence, stamen and pistil, united in one and the same flower, the "rice and steel" which was called to mind by the Peruvian Genaro Carnero Checa in the title of his book.

I thought of all this listening attentively to the chairman of the management board of the Chongsan Cooperative

Farm and noting down in my memo-book, as faithfully as possible, her recollections, her remarks, her extensive explanation about the system and method of management and production of this cooperative farm of multiple agriculture.

"Our ri," she resumed after a moment of silence as if to allow me to jot down her explanation better, "has 1,100 *chongbo* of land (one *chongbo* is approximately one hectare), which is divided among 18 workteams, 11 engaged in grain production, four— in vegetable culture, and three others — respectively in fruit-growing, stock farming and silk raising. The nine cooperatives organized at first were merged into a farm in 1958. And then we realized the significance of our Party's decision and superiority of the new system over the old method of management which is individualistic and dispersed. With the elimination of boundaries between the fields, it was possible to better organize manpower and work land with the help of machines of large capacity. The state kept sending us fertilizers, agricultural chemicals, and draft animals and also manpower when we needed it. Our cadres failed to keep abreast of the new developing reality, our consciousness was not yet awakened, the technical level of the peasants was low, not to say 'zero'. We had never managed such a big cooperative. However, our President was always there to give us advices, to help us in work, and support us morally by his presence by our side. He even stayed here for 15 days to give us on-the-spot guidance. He always showed us solicitude and great benefit. The President taught that the higher organs should help the lower, to rely in all circumstances on the spontaneous enthusiasm of the masses, to stimulate their creative spirit so as to mobilize them to come out as one man conscious of their responsibility. This was inspiring and it explains today all the successes we have achieved. The slogan

'One for all and all for one' always shows us the road to happiness and prosperity, and its justness was fully confirmed and embodied in practice. We have never departed from this slogan. It enabled us to raise the intellectual, technical and ideological level of our cooperative farmers, who have now all reached the high standard of the secondary school graduate or above, without counting over 200 engineers and associate engineers who work here as vanguards of our technical revolution. We receive the benefit of 15 days of paid leave a year, and lying-in women are entitled to 77 days of leave, and women with more than three children have a six-hour working day instead of the statutory eight-hour day, receiving the pay for eight hours' work. We are happy because the harvest is rich every year. Last year, too, we had a bumper harvest, each household of the village taking a share of 10.2 tons of rice and 8 tons of maize. This amounts to 5,860 *won* earned by the labour of the peasants, coming from the sale of the crops to the state''.

Profiting by a short moment of silence, I asked three questions:

—How do they spend the money?

—How many farmhouses are there in the ri?

—(And a rather indiscreet question) Madam Chairman, are you married and the mother of a family? How have you been able to climb the rungs of the political and administrative ladder to such a responsible position of today?

Her answers promptly came forth to satisfy my curiosity.

The Chongsan Cooperative Farm comprises more than 600 farm households. They use their money as they please, and, in general, for the purpose of getting the maximum comforts and well-being, making travels and passing pleasant vacations. The surplus of money is saved. "In our country the peasants save much money, because once

Korea is reunified, the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo will greatly need the money we have saved. It is natural that one should think of oneself, but we must not forget our south Korean brothers."

As regards herself, she had been a peasant, and later became a cooperative farmer. The ri Party organization sent her to a specialized school to train her to be a qualified administrative and technical worker. She returned to her native village and soon was elected chairman of the famous farm of Chongsan-ri by her cooperative friends.

This farm is really a model. We spent half a day to look round the auxiliary facilities, social, public health, educational and cultural establishments, historical graphic-museum, and buildings of a mere administrative and organizational nature.

The children in the creche of the Chongsan Cooperative Farm were clean, wise and beautiful like well-made toys. Everything in the kindergarten showed health, good humour and spontaneity. An ill-disposed correspondent of a Paris newspaper but reputed for his sincerity and impartiality wrote in February 1981

"To the eye of a Westerner, to arrive in the people's Korea is to jump over time and enter the world of 1934 of Orwell. Everything is rectilinear, distinct, polished, foreseen, organized and planned, the people we pass by all seem to know where they are going, groups of people march past singing songs, no action is meaningless, and everything is fit into the ideological pattern.

"Most people do not smile, but they are full of confidence in the future." I would like to give the lie to the assertion which, pretending to testify to the reality, induces the readers who are not informed to consider it hideous because the reality is uncommon and surprising. Cleanliness is found in north Korea, while what is most dirty, in the capitals of a number of countries which style

themselves to be the most developed. As far as I am concerned, I prefer the beautiful towns and villages of north Korea to the slums in Marseilles and Amsterdam and so on. Cleanliness, order and planning never killed anyone. It is often preferable not to smile if one is to smile wryly because he has no confidence in the future. I stated that the children of Chongsan-ri were clean, wise and beautiful, but not at all like mechanic dolls or toys without soul and consciousness. I admired the Chongsan-ri kindergarten furnished with a special room with small chairs put in order around the model of the native home of President Kim Il Sung. Esteemed Messrs. Westerners, don't pity the lot of the Chinese and north Korean children, because you believe that they are "the best innocent propagandists of the regime". Rather have your obsequious compassion on those children who are wandering the streets, foodless, homeless and ill-cared, and the destiny of the children who are bathing in the rivers which give out an unbearable smell of gutter or rapidly multiply viruses of all kinds and all sorts of germs, the bearers of diseases and slow or sudden deaths. We, the people of the third world, have had enough of your unscrupulous cynicism, your sarcasm, systematic disparagement.

We are criticized for being dirty and also for being clean, because for you we are only subjects of argument or objects of curiosity. You insist that the Juche idea does not suit you. That is up to you, but you should know that the idea fits other people living under other skies, that it transforms the destiny of a people, the appearance of a country and further it will win over the whole humanity.

You should rather read the remarks of some eminent figures of our age about Korea.

"Comrade Kim Il Sung is one of the most brilliant socialist leaders of our age. His history is one of the best

histories that a revolutionary serving the cause of socialism can write."

Fidel Castro

"The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has become a pride of the third world under the guidance of President Kim Il Sung and due to his Juche idea."

Houari Boumedienne

"Socialist Korea knows that the youth is the future of the nation and treats them with particular solicitude. The title the President prefers among so many of them is that of 'affectionate father'."

Norodom Sihanouk

"What is to be said about a country without taxes, with moderate prices 'next to nothing', a culture accessible to all, where the people do not like drink, nor steal nor lie? They only sing the joys of life, but defend their dignity and their country without drawing back even an inch. Is it not a country of Rice and Steel?"

Genaro Carnero Checa

Little Kings of the Republic

Today when millions of children of the third world die everywhere of starvation, cold, various infantile diseases, natural disasters, and other calamities caused by adults' carelessness and indifference and rash action, in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the birth of a new life is regarded as a happy event, as a matter of universal rejoicing.

This day, too, a family in a festive mood are making preparations for receiving a new-born amid joy.

The mother and her baby receive best presents not only from other members of the family but also from neighbours, friends and even dong and the Party organization. In the flower season they are presented with beautiful fresh flowers. Babies are made object of great affection "only comparable to the love and solicitude the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung shows for the entire Korean people," my interpreter said.

This is nothing wonderful in the country which gives prominence to the absolute master of nature and society and fights for his happiness and prosperity. A family, the living basic cell of Juche type in socialist society, has not only the right to multiply itself but also the obligation to rear children sound in mind and body.

Juche, the philosophy, theory and method of life of the people who are devoting their all to the radical and irreversible transformation of society. This regards it as an obligation to consider children as the centre and beneficiaries of the revolution and construction. Children are

future adults. Having acquired ideology and knowledge, culture and ethics after their birth, children will become powerful human beings of Juche type, the motive force of progress and the ardent and genuine pioneers of grand forward movement.

Man being the most precious being in the world, everything should be made to serve him and geared to improving his life in order to make genuine freedom champion of man. The abolition of all kinds of taxes, house rent accounting for no more than 0.3 per cent of the cost of living, medical care and education of children at state expense—all this contributes to the prosperity of family directly or indirectly. From this it follows that each family is able to participate in the Juche-oriented great three revolutions—ideological, technical and cultural—in an independent and creative manner.

In the DPRK everyone is put entirely under the protection of the Party and the state. The Party and the state meet the material and spiritual requirements of the people and the latter live without any worry because the state supplies everything to them. If they have anything to worry about, it is only how to put all their heart and soul into the construction work which is conducted in all fields of activities on a long-range scheme since liberation. Everything seems to be undertaken, foreseen and planned. Westerners in capitalist countries, not accustomed to the benefits of the state, tend to describe this as ambiguity or intolerable manipulation of man. But their view is wrong.

In north Korea everything is evident and clear in life, work and thinking. As soon as a child is born everything is meticulously conceived, planned and projected. Once possessed of their faculties and firmly convinced of the justice of their accepted ideas, the people come to have respect for the socialist system, fight without hesitation and unconditionally for the prosperity of the country which

reared them, make for its victory and carve out its brilliant future, and are ready to lay down their lives to defend the gains of the country in case they are at stake. Ingratitude, selfishness, the fear of death, and neglect of one's duties are banished as wrong thoughts by men of Juche type who are sure of the success of the continuous revolution.

This social system under which the state takes the whole responsibility for individuals may seem, in fact, an unimaginable Utopia in the world where man, left entirely to himself and alienated by all manner of constraints and backward traditions, becomes victim to his fantasy and subdued desires and exposed to numberless dangers which menace his life and is driven to doubt, despair and horror. But there exist fine streets and happy society, a world which mankind has long dreamed and is now dreaming of. In north Korea it is called the "people's paradise". It will suffice to go there, stay and stroll for some days to see it more closely. It will suffice to approach it as a friend to be convinced of its existence and penetrate its secrets. It will suffice to visit it if one has no fancy for it.

"...children are kings in our country." said President Kim Il Sung. This is, in fact, a slogan addressed to the whole society.

As we know, his childhood was beset with all hardships and trials, but was worthwhile and happy in a sense. His parents and all other members of the family knew the honour and misery as great patriots who led an exemplary life. They had all ups and downs. It is natural that the Korean children who celebrate the New Year with him must be freed from all worries he has endured solely for state building.

President Kim Il Sung said:

"As a matter of fact, our country is now allocating a great deal of money for the children. A large

proportion of our state budget is appropriated for their upbringing and education."

As is well known, the President who set out on the road of revolution in his early years set up schools for the poor children of Korea and gave free education. After liberation regarding as a key question the problem of mass production of pencils, the symbol of knowledge and enlightenment, he put this problem on the agenda of the first session of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea. What pencil symbolizes is well known in this country where millions of people are striving to realize the intellectualization of the whole society so as to radically remould the mentality of people, transform the state structure, develop industry, mechanize agriculture, modernize all production structure and attain the three supposedly vital goals of Juche-orientation, modernization and scientification of the national economy.

Children are taught in nurseries, kindergartens and primary schools, while adults continue to deepen their knowledge to the end of their lives.

President Kim Il Sung defined the principle of socialist pedagogy as follows:

"Man can be an independent and creative social being only when he is conscious of his independence and his creative ability. Independent consciousness and creative ability are not born. No man is born with an ideology or knowledge. Through education man acquires an independent ideology and the knowledge of nature and society, and cultivates the creative ability to recognize and alter the world."

Proceeding from this definition the fundamental principle of socialist pedagogy is to make people working-classed, revolutionary and communist, in other words, arm them with the revolutionary communist idea and,

on this basis, make them have profound scientific knowledge and sound physique.

The *Theses on Socialist Education* published at the 14th Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea on September 5, 1977 gives a concrete exposition of all problems such as the fundamental principle of pedagogy, the content and methods of education, the duty and role of educational institutions, the Party's guidance to them and the state guarantee and social support for helping educational institutions discharge their duty under the best conditions. I do not intend to enlarge on one or two chapters of this theses. To summarize the theses may lead to omission or perversion of their substance, I think. So I should like to touch on a few problems of principle which constitute the key points of the theses, which may give something to think over to many third world countries.

"Without education there can be neither social progress nor national prosperity, at any time or for any nationality. The question of education acquires still greater importance in countries which have cast off the imperialist, colonial yoke and newly gained their independence."

"We must completely eliminate what is left of feudalism and capitalism in any sphere of education, so that socialist education develops in consonance with the character of socialist society and working-class aspirations. We must prevent the reactionary bourgeois ideas and degenerate ways of life spread by imperialists and their lackeys from infiltrating education and especially we must be on our guard against bourgeois educational theories. We must fight relentlessly against all opportunist ideological trends including revisionist educational theories that negate the Party and

working-class character of education and preach the non-ideological character and 'liberalization' of education."

As you will see in the chapter "literature and art", in education, too, there is nothing vague in any respect. In Korea under President Kim Il Sung everything is clear.

"By infusing the students with hatred for imperialism and for the landlord and capitalist classes, we should make certain that they fight both our class enemies and the system of exploitation resolutely."

All intentions were made clear. Children must have hatred for the enemies of their country, the class enemies in general. To this end, education should cultivate their pride and self-respect of being a man of the invincible heroic Korean nation. Children should value the fine traditions and heritage of their nation. Children must be taught to value the common property of the state and society beginning with their love of desks and chairs and manage the economic life of the state scrupulously.

This politico-ideological education should be carried on stage by stage from childhood to adulthood and from a lower to a higher level.

In kindergartens children are first given the general idea of social phenomena and politico-ideological consciousness is bred in them. As they grow up and the level is elevated, ideological education is gradually deepened and educational level raised so that they may understand the nature and principles of social phenomena.

This will enable children gradually to grasp the principles of nature and the complicated social phenomena by themselves. In this way, they are imbued with the revolutionary idea of Juche from the kindergarten days. As they like, children sing the "Song of Mangyongdae" in praise of their respected President to the accompaniment

of accordion, *kayagum* and other modern and traditional instruments, recite poems depicting the triumphs of the freedom fighters and the beautiful scenes such as Mt. Fata, Kumgang and Myohyang or give a brief account of the revolutionary activities of the great leader and his family, pointing at the pictorial records. They are not divorced from the history of their country and the political system under which they are living. They are actors and actresses and, at the same time, spectators. They already perceive the duty to be performed by them. It is that they must defend their prospering country which provides them with happy life. Therefore, no force on earth can prevail over this country or bring it to terms.

Some people qualify this as the totalitarianism of a closed country based on one ideology which controls all actions of daily life and does not allow individuals any initiative but obligations. I am forced to read some articles of the Western journalists who are shameless, arrogant or corrupt. I will definitely tell them what I saw in Korea (successes achieved in educational work and the undertakings for children in particular) are grandiose and well-respect. But I am neither a creation nor a destruction nor a propagandist of the side system of the government in my service. I have a lot of work to do in my country to establish a proper system of educating children and to encourage them to study whose effectiveness and results are obvious. I must admit that some countries of South America have no comparison with North America.

"Mobilization is a good thing." Contrary to the contrary. This alone enables people to suffer and terrific pain because of infectious diseases and lives.

In Africa, Latin America and Asia the people are decimated by tuberculosis, tetanus, diarrhoea, cholera, cough, measles, polio and in some cases by malaria.

because many countries failed to take measures suited to their socio-economic, climatic and soil conditions and to pursue the policy to exert the people's efforts, above all, for agriculture, animal husbandry, school attendance, administrative and cooperative organizations and other branches. In contrast, in Korea many miracles were wrought and so many calamities and misfortune were completely avoided. The reason is that the Juche idea is applied to all the spheres and all units of human activity. As is known, Korea did not curtail the expenditure for preventive vaccination in the countryside in favor of capital construction, while some third-world countries adopted the plans for grain cultivation, road construction, water purification, training of health workers and prevention of diseases. As for the children of north Korea and their welfare and vitality, it is necessary to refer to the achievements scored in all fields of life of people, the full-fledged masters of nature and society. When he said, "Rice is immediately socialism", President Kim Il Sung, first of all, thought of the diet of the Korean people, and the improvement of housing conditions to meet their desire to live in tile-roofed houses and of their environment. He thought that all this is as important as public health and educational work. It is because food and drink are essential. The idea is first to solve food problem, then to make the surroundings wholesome and to prevent diseases and treat them if necessary.

In Korea I saw healthy children who were smart, well-fed and well-clad (in uniform which made it difficult to distinguish between the children of high-ranking functionaries and those of ordinary workers of a textile mill or a metallurgical works). I saw children walking in columns along the broad and clean streets of Pyongyang, singing a melodious and lively song to match their age. On my way to Panmunjom-in Kaesong I saw them laying whitewashed

pebbles in a circle around trees lining the road. I saw them weeding the lawns of the broad streets and promenades of big cities or rice and wheat fields with hoes or bare-handed. The children of north Korea seem to do only useful jobs. When I saw them handling musical instruments, I felt that they were deft-fingered and talented. I saw them playing flute, contrabass, violin like virtuosos enthralling you.

A young accordionist won great success in the national art festival of children held in Pyongyang in September 1980. He is a four-year-old boy called Kim Yong Song who was born in an out-of-the-way village of South Pyongan Province. There is no musician in his family. As some children are born poets, so he is born a musician. He can distinguish the accord of three sounds among complex notes. He plays revolutionary and folk songs well on his accordion. He has exceptional musical ear and talent. He assimilated the knowledge of music and language simultaneously without difficulty from the age of two, I am told. A great deal was expected of this infant prodigy produced by north Korea. It is because in this Chollima country everyone has the right to develop his ability to the full. Such is the eight-year-old boy who played on a flute to the accompaniment of children's orchestra in the performance given for more than 1,000 Koreans and foreigners in the Students and Children's Palace during my stay in Pyongyang. Enchanted by his performance I felt as if I was hypnotized. He handled the instrument dexterously; he seemed to live in the world of music rather than play at sight. In a word, his was really fascinating performance. His performance enthralled the whole hall like a sweet fragrance of a pretty flower invisible in the woods.

Children, future pillars and masters of the Republic, are living under the loving care of their parents and the whole society everywhere. They are born sound both in body and

mind. When they grow up, they discharge their responsibility with pride, always ready to face any difficulty. Approximately four millions of children are growing up and blossoming at the expense of state and society. In the Students and Children's Palace I heard them singing songs, performing music and reciting poems in praise of their country. They frequent the palace to learn embroidery, do scientific practices, learn how to handle arms and learn knowledge about their country and that necessary for its defence from their seniors.

The Korean children were the first to welcome me and my wife at the Pyongyang airport and present us with the bouquets of fresh and beautiful flowers. During our sojourn we met them whenever we went to museum, theatre, children's palace and other public buildings and places often visited by the foreign guests. Boys were in dark blue cap, trousers and white shirt and girls in dark-blue skirt and white shirt with serene and big flower-ribbons on their heads. They greeted foreigners, their figures held erect and their hands raised, with respect due to the friends of their country.

For the Korean children motherland is not such empty word as heard in the official function or during the lessons on the duties of citizens and patriotism. For them motherland means land, mother, the fighters who fell on the battlefields, a land bestrewn with myriads of flowers in full bloom and Mt. Kumgang with 12,000 peaks, wild *insam* used as a precious medicinal herb, the legends of by-gone days and the three revolutions of today which have converted Korea into a country of numerous miracles and successes.

The Korean children know that the state has taken full care of them and ensured everything for their present and future life even in straitened circumstances immediately after liberation. For the rearing of children, one of important

tasks in cultural revolution and the building of socialist society Comrade Kim Il Sung personally founded the Korean Children's Union in 1946, the year following liberation. Three fundamental questions arising in educating children among others are: to teach them the finest traditions of national-liberation struggle, to follow the clear-cut socialist orientation of educational methods and to make them pattern after the example of the great leader, the ever-victorious fighter, who defeated two imperialisms. This education may "shock" some Europeans and the Gavroche-like aspect of the Korean children may seem to them to be futile and insignificant. Then, the following question arises: what is the reason that the lofty virtue of patriotism which gave birth to the great nation in each era is disappearing inevitably and ultimately though gradually in many countries of Europe and elsewhere through the neglect of the education of children? It may be due to the "Confucian foundation tinged with socialist puritanism" that the young people of Korea do not marry until girls reach 26 and boys 30. These youngsters are conscious of their duty to return all the favours the state bestowed upon them in educating them at the school of Juche, aren't they? It is not wrong that they feel indebted to their parents and teachers, society and the motherland in particular.

The children of north Korea are decidedly kings. Concern for children begins already before they are born, namely, in the period of pregnancy.

The majestic Pyongyang Maternity Hospital sprang up on the Munsu Plain east of the Taedong River. The maternity hospital with the floor space of over 60,000 square metres is composed of six modern buildings arranged around the 13-storied main building. I looked around this best place of health and welfare and found there perfect illustration of the Juche theory which regards man as the most precious of beings. There are more than 1,000

beds, over 2,000 rooms provided with all comforts and the up-to-date equipment from the hygienic and aesthetic viewpoint. There are specialized departments with their treatment and diagnosis rooms: obstetrics-gynecology, ophthalmology, stomatology, otorhinolaryngology, physiotherapy, and examination of cardiac and cerebral functions. Visit to women in childbirth is done by TV. In the parking place there are scores of cars ready day and night to render help to pregnant women and women nearing her time.

The interior and exterior ornament of the buildings is splendid. The floor of the vestibule of the main building fascinates visitors by its finely elaborated artistic motives. Camellia blossoms, bellflower and the leaves of ginkgo loved by the Koreans from olden times are so well blended to form a nice ornamental ensemble. It seems to reflect the pure minds of mothers desirous of offering robust and healthy children to the country. All this arouses national sentiment and means application of the noble ideas carried by Juche: "Man is placed in the centre of the universe", "The masses of people are masters of the revolution and construction", "Chajusong and creativity" and "Children are kings of the Republic". Everything creates the spirit of spring and exalts the blessed life of the rising generation. Everything symbolizes labour and beauty, prosperity and longevity. Sculptures represent the happiness of the Korean children. The fountains placed in front of the eaves of the central entrance hall, the exquisite sunflower-shaped chandeliers studded with myriads of glass beads, a quiet park, a thick grove of thousands of trees of different kinds—all this gives an impression of stability and a happy feeling of living and giving birth to a new life. The state bears all the hospital charge, medical fee and charges for medicine. The children who will be born in the maternity hospital open to all the women in various parts of this country from the capital to the locality will grow

vigorous and healthy. Then, they will know that the motherland that has taken loving care of them and bestowed great favours on them since their birth expects them to justify the trust it has placed in them. This rendezvous brimming over with kindness, love and respect should not be missed in any case like H hour.

Korea under President Kim Il Sung has treasures of graces for children. The young people who have not yet failed in their duties will swell them hundreds of times.

Intellectualization for Revolutionization

A society which puts in the forefront continuous revolution in all fields of human activity should have a rich and lofty culture capable of raising it to the highest standard of consciousness. Man of Juche type is master of nature and society. So, one must have the attitude of a master. To this end one must know one's own actual conditions so that one can judge and change them.

In the DPRK consciousness holds a dominant position in educating the people. To have a clear idea of the reality, to be conscious of one's ability, merit and strength and his power over things, to have the working-class consciousness, to grasp the situation, to equip oneself with just, clean, and fair collectivist consciousness to be a citizen with a high degree of consciousness and to have a professional consciousness whereby one fulfils his duties with all his honesty, carefulness and enthusiasm—all these are essential features of man of Juche type distinguishing between him and petty-bourgeoisie doing evils without hesitation, renegades and Right and "Left" opportunists.

Juche calls for the intellectualization of society. This is tantamount to having a dynamics for an incessant upward movement in itself.

Intellectuals are regarded by the Party and state as a component part of the working masses. Writers, artists, stage and film directors, journalists, engineers, architects and scholars are all people working in the vast areas of

utility". They serve the society and discharge their duties with conscience. Their works are widely disseminated to the masses of people and rightly appreciated by them. They are neither picture dealers nor poets on the payroll of capitalists who exploit them while pretending to help them. They need no pompous publicity of the Western world which decides or changes the cast of stars and makes them slaves of their personages. They need neither exaggerated and frantic propaganda surrounding the names of artistes nor contract which makes them head of theatrical company, publisher or theatrical agent according to the docility to the real master of their destiny in capitalist countries. Like all citizens of north Korea, intellectuals are equipped with the revolutionary idea of Juche. Their function is conceived and realized and proves their worth in the light of socialist construction. There are no means of making fame in literature, art, technology and other fields apart from the revolution. As in all other sectors of human activity, in these branches, too, there is no place for "individualist fantasy, laissez-aller, anarchy, literary and art activities divorced from the reality, no place for the arts which do not serve the revolutionary cause of the masses. It is because all works contrary to Juche ethics are regarded here not only as futile and worthless but also as counter-revolutionary. Therefore, such works are to be rejected without hesitation because they are products of unsound, unhealthy and dangerous spirit and the enemy of man and society."

A Picasso and a Dalí in painting, a Henry Miller and a Burroughs in literature and a Le Corbusier in architecture cannot be considered in Korea otherwise than the products of declining capitalist society. Their degenerate literary techniques are regarded as entirely worthless. People view their lucubrations as abnormal, extravagant, and wild. The DPRK does not mystify persons producing mental cre-

ation. The Koreans will acquaint you with the following teachings of President Kim Il Sung:

"We are neither black nor grey. We are Red people."

"Our literature and art should by no means depart from the interests of the revolution and the Party's line, nor should they tolerate those elements which cater to the taste and liking of the exploiting classes. Only revolutionary literature and art based thoroughly on the line and policy of the Party can truly enjoy the love of the masses of people and become a powerful Party weapon in educating the working masses in the revolutionary spirit of communism."

Everything is clear and ways ascertained. Artistic works must be "a weapon of struggle", "a poem of distinguished military services", "a hymn of praise to the country" and "an epic". In a word, this means that artists should make a contribution to the worthwhile cause of people with eternal vigour of "Chollima" (to use the neologism preferred in Korea).

Today, the literature of social character alone can be issued in Korea. Contemporary writers do not stand aloof from the reality of their country.

The forefathers of Korea bequeathed to their posterity incomparably profound love and respect for all mental creation. If there is Korean literature worthy of its name, it is attributable to these ordinary pioneers, particularly the Korean revolution and President Kim Il Sung himself, as it can be easily imagined. President Kim Il Sung himself is a fine man of letters and the author of numerous literary works.

What are the main features of mental creations required by north Korea and what sort of man are writers and artists in the eyes of revolutionary Korea, the homeland of Juche?

I had opportunities to come into contact with many literary critics, theoreticians of literature and arts and leading political and administrative workers, not to speak of a few writers and professors of the university. With the materials I wrote and recorded for reference I can give a general outline (though in detail, I admit, incomplete) of the situation of literature and arts of the DPRK.

A literary critic told us about the classical literature of Korea and the Writers Union. He said:

"Writers had no prospect under Japanese colonialist rule. They were deprived of the freedom of speech, persecuted and often imprisoned on account of their ideas. They could not continue to write works in such unhealthy atmosphere. There were neither people to protect them nor organization to unite them, nor encouragement, nor assistance from any quarter. But as soon as the country was liberated the Writers Union was founded on March 25, 1946 under the guidance of President Kim Il Sung. Then the war broke out and all people were mobilized to defend the country against the aggressors."

It was necessary to wait for the cessation of hostilities to reorganize everything anew and resume work seriously. The union has members who belong to different generations. The old-time and young writers are endeavouring to enrich spiritual food of all people in a friendly atmosphere. The critic went on to say: "Like other countries our country, too, has many poets. However, novel holds the first and foremost place. In general, it is issued in 400,000 copies or so. Only if books are put on sale at bookshops, people vie with one another to buy them. If they miss the chance to buy them the first days, they must wait for the second edition. What I want to tell you is that all our people read much and books are within the purse of everyone. Our readers very much like literature and are fond of reading new books."

In the DPRK writers and artistes are regarded as engineers of the human soul and their works serve as the "textbook of life". The examples of such works are: *Sea of Blood*, *The Fate of a Self-Defence Corps Man* and others, the immortal works written by President Kim Il Sung in the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle. All writers and artistes are eager to filmize, operatize these immortal works and make TV pictures of them. It is because at the time when they were written audio-visual means were not widespread as today.

The literary critic who chatted with me defined patriotism to be dealt with in Juche-type literature as follows:

"This is affection for his native place and people of his native village and love for parents, wife and children. It is because patriotism is a vivid and concrete human feeling. Immediately after liberation our writers failed to portray the ideas and feelings of revolutionaries on a high artistic level because their artistic activities were divorced from life and were lagging behind the quickly-developing reality of the country. But they soon realized that in order to write fine works they must describe love and ardent thirst for the new. It is because patriotism has nothing to do with the abstract and dull slogans. Patriotism means, above all, infinite love for the soil, history and culture of one's country and hatred against the old things and the backward reactionary customs... particularly love for the people, the people for whom the given work is intended. If a novel, a film or a drama can not gain the people's understanding and approval and their liking, they are mediocre and do not interest readers and audience. It is because people are genuine creators of great art, as said the President who wrote excellent works in the light of their content, form and artistic representation. The works with formalistic tendency and cosmopolitan elements were created after liberation. But no one paid attention to them because they

failed to reflect the great changes which had taken place in the history of our country. Today is not the era of Japanese imperialist rule, and still less, the era of the feudal Li dynasty. Like the works written in the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle or during the war against the Yankees our works have to portray vividly and on a high artistic level the people engaged in the creation of a new life and describe the strong-willed fighting spirit of our people and their firm confidence in final victory. Only then can they serve as a powerful weapon placed at the disposal of the people and be a great inspiring force for our ultimate victory. By the revolutionary works we mean the works which portray the heroism and fortitude of the soldiers of the People's Army, the real heroes who emerged from among our people. Revolutionary works can not be written by a so-called creator who tries to make the non-existent affairs artificially complex and looks for rare facts or extraordinary legendary heroes, claiming to serve literature and the people. It is because our heroes are concrete, they are the workers, peasants, office employees, students of yesterday, their children and today's free people who, guided by the immortal Juche idea, turned their country into a powerful one by the sweat of their brow. Our heroes should be described as they are, in their simple manners and without affectation. Genuine heroes are created only in this way. Such is the proper way for a writer to do. This alone makes his works persuasive. Without this, all is bound to be scribbles and poor productions. It is because what counts in literature counts in painting, sculpture and all other known artistic genres as well. Readers and audience, and, in general, all people enjoying mental creations, are not fools. They do read books or see art performance not to kill time but to gain more profound understanding of life and learn from the lofty spirit of ordinary people faithfully serving the country and the

people and have a firmer confidence in the bright future of mankind.

"So far as the US soldiers stand face to face with our Republic, so far as they trifle with our people and defy the international law and so far as they back the south Korean puppets, our literature and arts must arouse the most burning and strong hatred for them and our writers and artistes must lay bare their crimes before the peoples all over the world and imbue our people with enmity against them.

"President Kim Il Sung taught us that writers and artists '...are glorious soldiers on the literary and art front....

"Great writers and artists of the world were great patriots and great champions of the people's happiness. So, they have the love and respect of all peoples down through the ages and are the pride of mankind."

My companion is a good talker who speaks logically and clearly. I expressed him my sincere gratitude for his coming to my hotel room one Saturday afternoon when he might intend to enjoy a rest together with his family and for his rich and energetic account he gave me of the situation of Korean literature and arts. When parting from him and his colleague I was surprised to find him disposed to continue the talk. He said that he would tell me about certain works which deserve to be discussed in view of the interest they arouse as "reference books of certain value". We promised to meet next Saturday in the same hour at the meeting hall of the third floor of the Pyongyang Hotel where I was staying. He, charming and joking, said, departing from me at the bottom of the staircase: "Dear friend, the people's strength is inexhaustible and, accordingly, so is the content to be talked about.... We are living in reality and writing the story about our people and mankind. There is no need of abstraction. It is because 'Abstraction means death to art.' This is what the

great leader President Kim Il Sung said at the talk with us, writers and artists on June 30, 1951." He repeated **'Abstraction means death to art'**, saying good-bye to me at the entrance of the hotel. It was raining that day. I left the place, seeing him spread his umbrella on the steps and head for the highway gleaming in summer drizzle.

Red Literature and Arts

"Today I want to tell you about some masterpieces of our literature and arts."

With these words our friend, a talented literary critic, began his account. It was an illustration of the theoretical lecture he gave me last week. He came as he promised. It was a splendid spring day. "Almost like a Tunisian spring day", I said to my companion whom I missed very much during the past week. I began to become acquainted with him. I had some affinities with him. I first thought he was a literary critic as he was introduced to me. Moreover, he was an art historian, a man of letters and a man of wide and profound knowledge. He is almost an expert in movie and TV, painting, graphic arts in general and in opera. We understood each other and our parallels corresponded with each other as is told in mathematics.

I have already seen a number of Korean films and some performances in the Mansudae Art Theatre and the Pyongyang Grand Theatre, which stood just in front of my hotel. So, in the evening I looked at its illuminated imposing facade through the window of my room. "Sea of Blood", a revolutionary opera adapted from the work written by President Kim Il Sung was on there. I told my host about all my activities since the rainy Saturday when I was very sorry to see him off on the steps of the hotel, knowing that he, living far away, would get wet in the rain on his way home. He said: "Don't mention it. I had an umbrella and the Metro station is not far from here. The Pyongyang Metro is not ordinary one. It is monumental

beautiful. I suppose that you have already visited it and fine murals decorating the walls of all the Metro stations. And you probably have seen sculptures, reliefs and a lot of fine architecture. All is national in form and revolutionary in content."

He lavished praise on constructors, decorators, architects and artists and all other technical personnel who presented the most beautiful gift to their capital.

"Imagine that in 1953 Pyongyang was all burnt down by tens of thousands of bombs. The barbarous Yankees attempted to raze the city to the ground and wipe it off the map and bury it in the debris. But look. All is reviving. Once we are determined to do, nothing is impossible. We worked hard and the result is quite something, as you see."

It is majestic, indeed. The stations of the Pyongyang Metro remind us of a fine art exhibition. Each of them has a ceiling, inner structure, illumination corresponding to its name. Illumination varies according to the architectural style and interior decoration of the station. The Sungri Station is illumined by the chandeliers reminding of fireworks exploding into the sky over the square of victory whose name it bears. The chandeliers of the Hwanggumbol Station are suggestive of a cluster of grapes gleaming under the blazing sun in a land of morning calm. The Kwangbok Station is richly ornamented with a mural depicting Lake Samji against the background of Mt. Paekdu, the sacred mountain of revolution. The floor walls and pillars of underground stations are faced with rainbow-coloured marble and granite. Monumental sculptures, mosaics, murals and bas-reliefs are found everywhere. Those at the Kaeson Station portray the people welcoming with delight the great leader, the liberator of the country, on his triumphal return home.

All this is well arranged and functional. The entrances of the Metro stations are sited so as to facilitate a

theatres, museums, stadiums, parks and all other recreation grounds. The lines serve busy points of the capital such as Kim Il Sung Square in the centre, the Mansudae Art Theatre, Korean Revolution Museum, Kim Il Sung Stadium, February 8 House of Culture, Taesongsan Pleasure Park, Kim Il Sung University, Victorious Fatherland Liberation War Museum and Ragwon Street.

During my sojourn in Pyongyang I used the Metro service on many occasions and was happy to have chances to make the round of all the places of glory, art and beauty of this country boasting of the inexhaustible strength and creative wisdom of the people. All these monumentals are, without exception, palaces of culture where the might of people's talent was demonstrated in the immortal works which would bring honour even to posterity.

I told my impressions to my companion before he resumed his remarks on artistic works.

Being artistic and literary critic, he knew a wealth of materials. He spoke passionately and eloquently. Getting thick papers, typewritten cards and hand-written notes out of his bag and placing them before him, he began to tell me about "some valuable works which reflected the spirit of the time and the requirement of the people".

He said: "In our country there is no room even for a moment for bourgeois literature and arts which run counter to the revolution and hamper the onward movement of our people. It is wrong to consider writing as something mysterious and reserved only for specialists. There are a great number of people who write poems, novels, plays and scenarios in town and country and within the army. Every middle school graduate can write about his feeling and thinking. It was our mistake that in the early '60s the creation of literature and art was entrusted only to a small number of writers and journalists instead of actively

obilizing the masses and opening up a broad avenue of
ation for them".

I vindicated myself by recalling the problem of quality of
works. I said that people wanted to write good works both
n content and in form in our country, too, as elsewhere in
the Western world. I told him that there were even
formalists who put weight on the form rather than on the
content in the literary works, and that there were novels of
new type in France and other countries, too, and Robe-
Grillet and Nathalie Sarraute were known to a large
public. I asked him: "Have you ever heard of this literary
school? If so, what about it?" Presently I felt the question
was absurd. Soon a simple and resolute answer
followed:

"It is all nonsense! Human history will never remember
such futilities. Valuable works can be written only on the
basis of socialist realism, the only creative method deserv-
ing attention in the present era. Literature and arts should
touch the heartstrings of the people and draw inspiration
from them. The socialist content of their works should be
correctly combined with resourceful and varied national
forms. You probably saw 'Sea of Blood.' This is the
immortal work which forms part of the wealth of the
glorious revolutionary traditions of our literature. "Sea
Blood" reflects, in a condensed way, the basic question
raised not only by the life and struggle of our people
also by those of hundreds of millions of people of our time
the age of revolutionary storm when struggle is being
waged between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary
forces. This work shows through a vivid description
implacable revolutionary truth that where there are exploi-
tation and oppression there always breaks out the
revolutionary struggle and the counterrevolutionary violence
must be suppressed by the revolutionary violence.
work is a model of the revolutionary nation.

which blended high ideological quality with artistic techniques and is pervaded with the Juche idea."

Opera "Sea of Blood" is a work of very high artistic value. The dramatic composition of the work is compact and the national music accompanying it is elegant. It is a story of a united and harmonious family life despite the tyranny of the brigands who invaded the country. The Japanese aggressors imposed starvation and poverty upon the Korean people. So, they could not afford to treat their children to even a bowlful of oat or wild vegetable porridge. The innocent and unarmed inhabitants are killed at random and become a prey to the caprice and brutality of the rulers. The husband of the heroine is cruelly burnt to death at the stake by imperialists. They shoot even his young son to death without any reason and judgement. In this sea of blood mother, the heroine who had no idea of revolution, grows as a genuine revolutionary under the influence of a political worker of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army. As chairman of the Women's Association, a revolutionary organization, formed by President Kim Il Sung, mother takes the van of the masses in the struggle against oppressors. As the Women's Association and youth organizations are expanded and the ties between the guerrillas and the people are cemented, the enemies strengthen counter-revolutionary offensive and brutal suppression. Timing their uprising and revolt to the people's guerrillas' offensive, workers and peasants smite the imperialists and liberate the walled town.

The opera ends with the following song the guerrillas and the people sing in chorus, wild with joy the day when the walled town is liberated.

*We'll all rise up in revolutionary war,
The guerrillas at our head.
The banner of freedom will wave*

Over our blood-soaked land,
The morn of national liberation.
Revolt! All you oppressed,
Rise up with guns in hands!
Revolution is the only road to life.
Rise up in the struggle for life.

I and my friend the literary critic, recalled "The Song of Kumgang Mountain" as the second example of the Korean opera. He said: "It is also a work which found subject in reality and in which is perfectly embodied Comrade Kim Il Sung's Juche thought on literature and arts."

This is the story about the Hwang Sok Min's family who had lived in sad separation and abject poverty for 20 years due to Japanese imperialist rule.

The Hwang Sok Min's family who left their native place took refuge in the forest of Mt. Kumgang, built a shabby hut and eked out a meagre living. However, the Japanese policemen discover their shelter. They arrest him on an absurd charge of having reclaimed the land of a landlord and built a hut there, and thus separate him from his dear wife and daughter.

Afterwards Hwang Sok Min escaped from the prison and was employed in a lumber camp. Thus, he was entirely out of contact with his family. His wife with her little daughter roamed about fields, mountains and valleys but, after all, failed to find any trace of her poor husband. Two decades later under the wise guidance of the great leader the country was already liberated and converted into socialist paradise. Hwang Sok Min's wife became a cooperative farmer, "Twice Chollima" fruit-growing worker team leader. Her daughter, now a young girl, is a talented dancer and singer.

When Hwang Sok Min works as a feller, a worker of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army liberates

falling ground and an officer gives him a collection of revolutionary songs. From then on, Hwang Sok Min is engaged in the revolution and begins to compose songs to glorify the country and the people. After liberation he becomes a noted people's composer. With a national art festival approaching, he visits Mt. Kumgang to compose a piece. There he visits the native village he left 20 years ago. He marvels at his native place which has been turned into a genuine earthly paradise under the socialist system. Inspired by the new reality he is engrossed in the creation with infinite pride. He puts a title "The Song of Kumgang Mountain" to his completed piece. A fine people's composer, he helps the art circle members who are engrossed in the rehearsal for the festival to be held in Pyongyang.

Sun I who plays the leading part in the work written by Hwang Sok Min rehearses dance entitled "Magnolia" with joy. Recalling her father who said that he would rear her like a magnolia the girl is overcome with sorrow and even runs out of the rehearsal hall. The day when the premiere is given in Pyongyang, he comes to know that Sun I is his dear daughter. He meets Myong Hui, his wife, and his family rejoin in great joy after 20 years of separation.

The final scene of the opera glorifies the socialist system which enabled the scattered families to reunite in great joy in the prospering country after the hard trials the people went through. The villagers express deep thanks to the respected leader who brought them happiness and an earthly paradise.

In this way, portraying the life of the Hwang Sok Min's family the opera represents on the stage the Juche theory which makes the working masses masters of the revolution and construction and provides the people with an independent and creative life. The opera shows that the socialist system is the best system which

only gives every benefit to the entire people but also satisfies even the desire of the families who wish to reunite themselves after a long separation. The opera winds up with the song of reunion which is sung lyrically with emotion. The following few lines are eloquent proof of his.

*How anxiously you must have waited for my return,
Rearing up our daughter for twenty years!
Bringing up our daughter in the warm embrace of the Party*

*I have waited for today's happiness.
In those days when we had no country,
We had no hut to live in even in the remote mountains.
Under the leader's infinitely warm care
We are reunited after a long separation.*

I saw a few revolutionary operas called five masterpieces including "Sea of Blood" and "The Song of Kumgang Mountain" and some films. I had a talk with my friend, a literary and art critic, over them. In this connection he said:

"We have long waited for such interesting cinematic productions as we see today. All people were aware of the stagnation and especially so was the President who has encouraged this sector which played an important role as a means of communication, education and culture for the masses.

"We made a mistake because we believed that specialists of remarkable talent could produce films and uninitiated could not. As a matter of fact, anyone who is among the people and writes the truth can produce scenarios. The defect is that writers and artists fail

deep into the vivid reality of Juche-oriented socialist Korea.

"A Soviet feature film 'The Bright Future' is a good piece."

"This is a simple story of a woman, weaver who, once a servant of an inn, made an innovation and rendered distinguished services during the Stakhanov Movement and thus was promoted to a deputy. The workers in their work were well portrayed. And the music is sound and gives the audience vigour. This is a film of incontestably high artistic value. How many examples of hard yet worthwhile struggle are found in our country where the working class are waging heroic struggle at the speed of Chollima! What we have built on the debris after the war is not done without difficulties but is fruit of the unusual patriotic and devoted struggle of our people. Once one penetrates deep into reality, one can find excellent things. Going over the crucible of the hard-fought anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, we have already found many good subjects. Our genuine revolutionary heroes glorified their life before history and posterity not through literature, the formative or other arts but through their practical activities.

"Let me take two examples treated in the film with success.

"One balmy spring day of 1940 Li Gwon Haeng, an anti-Japanese guerrilla of only 18, was arrested by the police. After cruel torture the police promised that they would release him if he would cooperate with them. He categorically refused, saying: 'We communists do not yield even if our flesh is ground to powder.... There is not a single bogus communist within our anti-Japanese guerrilla ranks who would betray the revolution, succumbing to torture or appeasement.' This fighter was faithful to his duty and the revolutionary principle to the last moment of his life.

"Ma Dong Hui made the enemy shudder by cutting his tongue with his teeth to keep the secret of the organization. There are numerous known or unknown soldiers and revolutionaries who glorified by their heroic death the Korean people and the history of war for the liberation of the country.

"Hundreds of scenarios can be written with such vivid facts as I mentioned. Materials are always kept in the memory of soldiers and fighters. The point is that specialists put them together and retouch them in an artistic way."

I said to my companion that the pending problem was to weave these materials into artistic works and that everyone was not always equal to writing a play, novel or scenario. He mentioned that in the past little weight was laid on this, that technical shortcomings or certain imperfections in literary and artistic works did not bore anyone and that allowance could be made for imperfection in the works designed for the education of the masses. Calling to mind the speech of President Kim Il Sung concerning creative work and its influence upon the audience, he admitted I was right as to the aesthetics which requires that works arouse certain interest. If 15 years or 10 years ago, he said, the Korean youth were satisfied with the films of the mediocre artistic value which dealt with the revolutionary facts but now they become more exacting with the lapse of time and naturally they want better things in terms of techniques.

He went on to say:

"Such is also the case with a film put out a few years ago which dealt with the revolutionary activities of a young soldier who participated in the battle of Height 1211. The film was criticized by President Kim Il Sung because too many battle scenes. It is all fighting from start to finish. My companion referred to President Kim Il Sung

speech delivered on February 8, 1963, in which he touched on this film. Below I cite the relevant paragraphs:

"At present, the young people find our films on the theme of the revolutionary traditions or war to be too stiff, and boring. This means that these films are not properly combined with our life of today.

"So, I say our comrades do not know how to administer medicine effectively. People are unwilling to take a bitter medicine however good for them it may be. A bitter medicine should be sugar-coated before it is administered. The point is that you do not know how to sugar-coat skilfully.

"When you make a war film, you should not present only battle scenes from start to finish but describe the life of today as much as possible while inserting less battle scenes, and also strive to make your works rich in emotion so as to meet the feelings of young people.

"Suppose you make a film based on the battle of Height 1211. You can start it with a soldier's reminiscences of a hero who fought well on Height 1211, and properly associate the hero's life in the past with his present life. In this way, you can produce an interesting film. You might also show the hero's childhood; what education he received from his parents in his early days, how he studied at school, how he kept on good terms with his friends, what sort of girl he fell in love with. You can further describe how bravely the hero fought the enemy on Height 1211 after joining the army, and what the soldier himself was doing at that time and what impressions he got from the hero's struggle; you can also portray how actively he is participating in the building of socialism at present, how he fares today and how his heroic friend and his parents are

etting along and so on, thereby introducing topics of today's life. Thus, it is possible to deal with both past and present life, introduce valour and heroism in battle and give a good description of life's emotions as well.

"But the film entitled *Defenders of Height 1211* which was put out recently is all fighting from beginning to end."

My friend agreed that people are unwilling to take a bitter medicine however good it may be and that aesthetics is a necessity to arts without which writers will be reduced to write only reportage and painters can reproduce a poor replica of nature. He affirmed that in recent years a great stride has been made in many realms of literature and arts in the DPRK but the case with the film art was otherwise.

He went on to say:

"Film holds a very important place among the means of the education of the masses. Nevertheless, our film is on a comparatively low level. Such films as 'The Fourteen Winter' or 'Star of Korea' are exception, of course. But there are no masterpieces that portrayed our working-class and peasantry of today on a proper level. The genuine heroes of our times are often unknown. Today there are thousands of Chollima workteams and many model cooperative farms. And they all merit notice. The point is that our writers and artists do not dedicate many works to depicting the life of today."

This chapter leads to the following conclusion: In the DPRK there is no art for art's sake, nor music for music's sake, nor drama for drama's sake. The people are the writers of literary works.

People's Paradise

At the same moment when people speak of the rush to the warm East, the district of the earth reserved for the capitalists in quest of exoticism, change of air, and organized spree during several days' sunbathing, sea bathing, amusement and dissipation, north Korea is firmly and resolutely dedicated to true life, a life of labour and creativity and of human happiness, a life which is truly worthy of living.

In fact, people here are absolute masters of nature and society and so the most precious beings in the world. They are neither venal nor selfish.

During the 1950-1953 war against the imperialist invasion President Kim Il Sung saw to it that officials stabilized the people's life, cared for and protected them. He taught as follows:

"However madly the US imperialists may devastate our country, reducing it to ashes, we will be able to rebuild it into a new powerful country after the war if only we have people."

The Korean people, who never forgot the teachings of the respected President, live today at the hour of great victory of socialism. Chajusong and creativity seem to be the two great pillars of the wisdom of the Korean people. Here, we have no time to lose in rubbish and trifles. After the war it was necessary for the DPRK to set out to remove the war scars in a short span of time, build the foundation of socialist industrialization as charted at the Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea and solve the problems of

clothing and housing of the people in the main. The Year Plan adopted at the Fifth Congress of the Party includes the great tasks to cement the material and technical foundations of socialism and free the working people from heavy labour in all fields of the national economy by consolidating and developing the successes gained in industrialization and advancing the technical revolution onto a new, higher plane.

With the realization of such prospects, the DPRK has become the only happy land in Asia of agony, poverty and idleness. In this land men and women and children have no worry about their life because since the first day of liberation the state has looked after their food, health, education, rest, cultural life and use of leisure. All people enjoy health, joy of life, love and beauty. Here the farmers are not driven by drought and famine, still less by unemployment and idleness, to rush towards the capital or large cities in search of a paying job and easy money. They are not decoyed into mafias. Thinking of the fact that in some capitals of this Asia flouted by the so-called civilized world, a travel agency came to sell as many as 1,000 children a year, a quarter of whom are under 16 years old (cf the *Nouvel Observateur*, No. 44 of August 15, 1981 Saturday). I cannot but state that in the DPRK the development of the economy is achieved not at the cost of man's dignity, his moral and physical purity, Chajusong, his labour and creativity. I say so because progress attained by this country has nothing to do with such profiteerings as deceptive tourism, trade in children and youth and avidity to increase foreign currency reserves by trading with rich countries. The development of the country is entirely based on the zeal of people in labour.

Juche idea is applied to the activities of mass development with his own efforts, will and spirit of self-reliance. This idea aims, above all, to bring up a new

new type, the master of revolution. This man is precisely a man who makes revolution by his own efforts and continues to push it forward with his creative power and wisdom which things or all other beings have not.

President Kim Il Sung's Korea knows no standstill ever since the Armistice Agreement was signed in Panmunjom on July 27, 1953. As soon as the war ended the people turned out in the gigantic struggle for the postwar reconstruction of the national economy. Everything was lying in ruins and desolation. They were at a loss what to begin with. Seeing towns and villages, factories and schools, mountains and valleys reduced to ashes, the imperialists prattled that it would take Korea more than a hundred years to rise again. The Korean people set about construction work with a firm faith that how serious the war ravages might be, they could build a new life as long as there were the people, the territory, the Party and the people's power.

President Kim Il Sung called the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee on August 5, 1953 and put forward the basic line of economic construction. This line envisaged giving priority to the development of heavy industry, the key to victory in this new struggle, and simultaneously developing light industry and agriculture.

President Kim Il Sung knew that everything which was not realized in the ardour of victory was bound, sooner or later, to encounter more unsurmountable obstacles.

It was necessary therefore to take final decisions quickly, granting that the ways of application be discussed later, in view of the reticence of some and the resistance of others. This was why, I believe, he hastened to visit factories, villages and construction sites, even before recovering from his fatigue accumulated during the three years, to give instructions to the workers, have talks with them and inspire them to perform exploits, which became

honorable and almost legendary from that time. The day
er the guns fell silent, he visited the Kangnam Brick
orks. The next day he gave on-the-spot guidance at the
wanghai Iron Works. Then he paid a visit to the
yongyang Textile Mill. On August 3 he went to the
angson Steel Plant. The country needed large quantities
of bricks, steel, various cloth and machine tools. In
particular, he had to show the formidable enemy, the
braggart and devastator, in the reconstruction the same
heroic spirit of the Korean people as displayed in the war. I
inspected the places once visited by him and saw how well
the Korean people built up the historic places of his visit for
the posterity to see. Monuments are carefully preserved
carrying descriptions of what he did, said and instructed on
his visits. President Kim Il Sung is distinguished from
other Presidents or leaders, other thinkers, military men or
revolutionaries. The Korean people place him above all
other heads of state or geniuses recorded in human history.
This is their absolute right, they are sovereign and so they
determine, choose and act as such.

In the course of the struggle against the Japanese and
through the victory in the war waged against the
Americans several years later, the Korean people learned
the lesson that one must only believe in himself and
overcome all difficulties by himself.

The people, who became the masters of a new power
and then of a socialist power, felt themselves living the
revolution of a new type. This new revolution was actual
creating a history. They, true Marxist-Leninists, were
bringing about so profound changes as to be worthy of
epithet "revolutionary". They were inspired by the Ju
philosophy which always served as the foundation of
liberation movement ever since General Kim Il Sung
started to lead the revolution according to the absolute
trust of the Korean people in him. The Korean people

up their mind to free themselves from the yoke of colonialist blackguards and greedy imperialists for good.

To understand this well, it suffices to examine papers and documents, visit museums, refer to the speeches of that epoch, contrast ideas and compare similar experiences. I put my energies into such work before and after my visit to Korea. During my sojourn in Pyongyang and other cities of the Republic I felt that the people I met sincerely wanted to talk with me. Sometimes they provided me with such opportunities. So, to my satisfaction, I was able to have talks with them to my heart's content, asking some questions and making unnecessary remarks now and then to enliven the discussions and enrich the conversation. I was not against them nor their potential or declared enemy nor indebted to them. I was quite simply a privileged visitor invited to witness and confirm the great successes which changed the look of Korea in less than 30 years. I paid my attention to different aspects of the theories and practice of the revolution in this country that were leading the people to continuous innovations, who attained a high level in construction and made great progress in all fields of their activities. If the finest fighters of many countries of the third world were in the same position, they would rest on their laurels. No people have ever been so self-supporting as in the DPRK. The Korean revolution does not rest content with a socialism which only justifies itself by its establishment and ruminates its gains. It makes continuous advance for a new goal and a fresh success. It demands that the Juche idea be made the guiding principle in all domains and, in particular, in technology, culture and national defence. This applies to all work—administration of creche, kindergarten and primary school, management of factory, mine, cooperative farm and hospital, animation in the camp school, rest home and family life, operation of administrative organ, etc. Everything is material for consultation,

ct for decision, and field for action and promotion. Everything is coherent, planned, productive and successful. The most grandiose and highest edifices were built in half years. It seemed as if the beehive continues to produce honey day and night. The slogan "One for all and all for one" —herein lies the secret of rapid development of the DPRK, the key and the answer to the miracle. However, the respected President of the Korean people, I think, is a unique person who is able to solve all problems arising everywhere including town and country, university and factory. The people always have a ready ear for his teachings, wait for his coming and when he comes they meet him with a great joy beyond description. He goes among the people, works together with them, discusses the raised questions with them, and explains his own philosophy of strength to them. And he encourages their initiatives, rectifies their shortcomings, stirs up their enthusiasm or moderates their excessive boldness. This guidance is given in different circumstances in spite of the diversity of motives, perspectives, conjunctures, priorities, and urgencies. What he had said before he won in the wars against US and Japanese imperialisms is still today as fresh as ever before. As the trial of power accords with his anticipation, so his saying and action, promise and fulfilment tally with each other completely.

The miracles produced in Korea are based on the slogan "One for all and all for one". (At first some regard it Utopian or even groundless.) The significance of the slogan can only be found in the leader's theory. In fact, at once one and multiple, omnipresent and unobtrusive, simple as all other people, and surrounded by a hallowed sacred light, more divine than the divine, who respects and reverence. Everyone has the right to a well-founded explanation of this praise of him.

borders on the cult. The Koreans are not toadies who lavish compliments and handshakes, furnish a significant answer to the question of veneration accorded with affection and admiration to their leader.

"It is because he clarified ideas incontestable for their truthfulness, implacable logic and vitality, ideas which are the most sublime expression of the aspirations our people have long cherished and dreamed of through the profound ideological and theoretical meditation closely combined with their daily life."

Let us suppose that President Kim Il Sung is an ordinary man like you or I but more talented than us.

However, he is the loadstar of the liberation revolution and the sun which rose over the oppressed nation at a definite moment of its history, reflecting the people's aspiration and the urgent demand of situation and the age. He personifies the revolutionary strength which symbolizes a conscious and courageous people of a new type who fight against the vicious forces of colonialism and imperialism most abominable and detestable. It is to him that the people owe their existence. Thanks to his idea, Korea's today is brilliant and its future is promising despite the black clouds overhanging in the sky all the time to stamp out the aspiration for the reunification of the two parts divided by the imperialism.

The personality "cult" which seems to upset certain Westerners so much who suffer from the maladies of "democracy" (anarchy and decadence) is quite alien to me, a citizen of a backward country which achieved national independence only 26 years ago. I fought for liberty and struggled for the sovereignty of my country, as a member of a Party and under the guidance of a wise and gifted leader who was also regarded by his people as a "supreme fighter" for liberty, and of whom people praise even now the valiance, courage, patriotism and talent. As

e, I continue to fight for the freedom, which all people
e world have, to choose persons and regimes which fit
r situation, in the concord of the sovereign nations.
yway, everyone knows well that people take only
ders whom they think qualified.

I think that the ideas and theories advanced by the
resident of Korea deserve not only the attention of the
impartial and honest observers but also their respect.
The people's reverence for him and conversion of Korea
into a political and ideological fortress are an expression of
their will to cope with the enemy's aggression and achieve
the national reunification of their country which has
struggled steadily for liberty. If some Westerners regard the
Korean people's reverence for their outstanding President
as exaggerated, immoderate and not free from xenophobia,
the Korean people will tell them frankly and straight out
that they need a centre, core, around which to unite. Let us
see how the necessity is greater than ever before for them
to rally around their leader. Did not the last congress of the
Workers' Party of Korea proclaim once more its adherence
to the principle of unitary leadership? Confirming the role
of President Kim Il Sung as the "great leader", the cong-
ress assured the state that it should continue with the
revolutionary cause that was not yet realized owing to the
occupation of the land south of the Military Demarcation
Line by the foreign troops, the symbol of split, divid-
power and unjustness in this peninsula which wants
reunification, independence and peace.

Korea Is One, but...

I visited Panmunjom. Through this visit I could see the split land, stiff expression, grimaces, malicious slogans, reinforced concrete barrier, etc. Here people, armed or not, feel themselves in danger. The Military Demarcation Line is not, of course, an ideal place for romantic admiration, calm reverie and philosophical meditation. Everything here brings people back to the reality. It is there, evident and supreme, the scar of an unhealed wound, a symbol of confrontation between the two parts of Korea which despite its 5,000-year-long history and culture fought each other from 1950 to 1953.

What is most clear to those who know Korea well is that there is only one Korea and the greatest and noblest dream is to see Korea represented in the United Nations as a single state.

Visiting Panmunjom, an impartial observer will find many discrepancies between the reality and what they had imagined. That is to say, the division of Korea is far grimmer than what they thought, so that the separated families cannot visit each other nor can they communicate even by post or telephone. This division is materialized by an impregnable wall, which is like a demoniac serpent appearing in a fantastic old tale, and the reality baffled all imaginations. But this wall has been built artificially by men of our days.

I got up early in the morning with my wife to set off to Panmunjom. We had been informed the previous evening that the trip would be long and probably hard. In fact, the

was nothing to us, the car—a Mercedes, latest model almost new—was comfortable, and we were generally accustomed to a long-distance journey. Scarcely two hours of driving, and we were in Kaesong, where we had to end the night in order to visit the Military Demarcation Line early the next morning.

It was July 3, 1981, Friday, that we set foot in the famous place called the "Demilitarized Zone", which is in fact one of the most fortified areas in the world.

On both sides of the Demarcation Line, two armies—hundreds of thousands strong each, are constantly on the alert, on a war footing, ready to plunge into massacre. The one in the name of the so-called "free" world and the other—the ideology that "man is the only master of nature and society and the only being capable of promoting the revolution and construction independently and creatively". As a matter of fact, the former is charged with the task of defending the capitalist world with the US as the support and ally, and the latter, with the task of safeguarding the grandiose and innumerable gains of a socialist system which has displayed its might by building a new, powerful industrial state which the world should reckon with from now on.

But the wall is there, not only to separate two different regimes, two ways of life, two views on the world, but also and above all, to prevent brothers of one and the same nation from communicating with each other. Everything Panmunjom reminds us of war and symbolizes division.

I made a speech at the World Conference of Journalists for the Reunification of Korea which was in Helsinki, Finland, on January 30 and 31, 1982. On that occasion I referred to this fearful and absurd atmosphere. Permit me to quote a large part of the speech:

... in fact, we have got together here to enrich everything valuable which will contribute to enrich

universal culture by dialogue for the good of entire mankind and to accuse those who repudiate them by jeering at the human rights, by erecting reinforced concrete walls to prevent the members of the same family from communicating and sharing the joys and sorrows of this world with each other and especially from entertaining hopes.

The present rulers of south Korea have nothing more to hope, because they have shut the door to all contacts, communications and dialogues.

For 36 years they have joined hands with the imperialist devils, submissively followed their will, attended on them as docile and often very devoted servants, and at last, they have become robots of a Machiavellian intrigue aimed at dominating the world by force of arms and artifices.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea came out with "No" to those who once believed themselves as masters of the world and the destinies of peoples. A person, a legendary hero, founder of ideas, inventor of tactics, guide of the masses, and great tribune of the working masses, was not only able to stand up against them but also inflicted on them the bitterest and most ignominious defeat in the history of conflicts between small nations and great powers. President Kim Il Sung, loved and venerated by the entire Korean people, proved to the world that even a mountain is not impregnable before a man of strong conviction.

While invading Korea, the imperialists, oh, how well we know it, became covetous for the whole of Asia, and their expansionism knowing no end led them to have designs not only on countries but also on continents. We know this quite well, we, the Africans who die every day on the battlefields of Namibia and elsewhere, and we, the Arabs plundered, driven out of home, and bruised in Palestine, in our souls and hearts. Therefore, all of us, the Africans and

abs, say, with the Korea of President Kim Il Sung, to imperialism, to apartheid, to colonialism and m.

But we say "yes" to international cooperation, "yes" to dialogue which solves the most difficult and complex problems, and "yes" to an independent and peaceful life. Korea has been divided for 36 years. We know, and the imperialists themselves know, that one cannot amputate a part of his body without being compelled and forced. The

gangrene which worried us for 36 years attacked the limb after its amputation, which was quite unnecessary, except for safeguarding their dirty interests, paying the service fee to their minions, preparing for new unneeded amputations, or else simply for killing. "How many gods have you killed?" asked an honourable delegate right now addressing the imperialists. Why? Because their intention is to kill, to suffocate what man holds dearest - his dignity, and to kill what makes him great and the gains of his humanity, and his liberty.

In order to justify and perpetuate the division of Korea, they are advertizing all over the world the fantastic idea of "two Koreas", the notion of two Koreas in coexistence, and the indiscreet notion of coexistence in the community of nations, but in vain.

From a simple imaginary and conventional line on the world map, the parallel has been transformed into a wall of iron, fire, blood and mounting hatred.

The wall at Panmunjon built by the south Korean rulers is not a fiction. It is not an imagination, either. I saw it with my eyes, saw, and I confess that I shed tears at its sight. I felt ashamed to be a man, living on the globe where people are ravaged by people.

In order to justify the division of Korea, the imperialists have always resorted to tricks, artifices and behind-the-scenes plots, along with military confrontation. They

find precedents to separate the citizens of one and the same nation. Hitler's Germany was divided after the defeat of the Nazis, and today its division seems to be a fait accompli. Congo, which was once a country united by a common river, is today divided into Brazzaville and Leopoldville. Colonialism has always acted in concert with imperialism. These twins reared on one and the same breast always meet each other at a forked road and, to reunite, seek for crossroads, a relay point in the worst.

Imperialism is not seriously thinking in south Korea. For instance, it indiscreetly acted in broad daylight in Kwangju, the hero city. With a deep bow, we pay our sincere homage to the martyrs of this city. Mightier than all speeches, the documentary film which was shown us last evening fixed in our memory for eternity the hideous scenes of barbarities of a regime which despises its fellow countrymen and, oblivious of the 5,000-year national history, profanes their country and mankind. In south Korea, murder is regarded as a kind of sport. Cutthroats are well paid, so they can subsist by manslaughter. They fear justice, law and truth, and so are cruel, barbarous and merciless.

The executioners of freedom in the area south of the Military Demarcation Line are in low spirits. Like all other evildoers, they know well that their days are numbered and the imperialists who put arms in their hands and hardened their hearts to compassion are guests who will leave them some day. Here some day means the day on which the foreign forces are driven out together with their weapons and belongings according to the will of the independent people who are masters of their own destiny. History will never allow imperialism to hang on to south Korea and to prevent peaceful reunion.

In fact, the imperialists and their stooges hampered peaceful reunion more than once in south Korea over 36 years.

President Kim Il Sung, a man of honour supported unanimously and trusted always by the Korean people, behaved towards the south Korean rulers as a man of peace all the time. His attitude is of a genuine patriot who sacrifices secondary things for the supreme interests of his nation and for things favourable and good for the Korean people. He knows only one Korea, only one people who aspire after independent and peaceful reunification of the country. Since the first day of the split of the Korean people, he has made proposals on more than 200 occasions for restoring the territory occupied by the foreign forces. The world knows this well. Anyway, the world will testify to this some day. There is no need to prove the good will of President Kim Il Sung, just as it is unthinkable and unjust to doubt his sincerity.

At the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea opened in Pyongyang on October 10, 1980, the General Secretary of the Party Central Committee clarified once more the most reasonable and realistic ways for accelerating the reunification of the country by establishing the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo. This proposal and the ten-point policy accompanying it were judged "unacceptable" by Mr. Pom Sok, "Minister of Unification Council" of south Korea, who replied that "This tactic much resembles the methods employed by Hanoi to impose its law upon South Vietnam. To accept President Kim Il Sung's conditions is to accept the destabilization of south Korea, it is, in the final analysis, to accept suicide. What does he mean by suicide and destabilization? In the matter of fact, President Kim Il Sung intended to address these proposals not to the present rulers of south Korea to people there. He maintains that reunification should be absolutely realized according to the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great

unity, and indicated the most reliable shortcut to national reunification proceeding from the concrete reality of the country that there are different ideologies and institutions in the north and the south of the country.

It is:

- to establish a confederal state through the alliance of the north and the south leaving the ideologies and systems existing there intact.

- to found a Confederal Republic where will be formed—"a unified national government on condition that the north and the south recognize and tolerate each other's ideas and social systems, a government in which the two sides are represented on an equal footing and under which they exercise regional autonomy respectively with equal rights and duties".

- and to ensure that this new Confederal Republic puts forward and carries out the ten-point policy.

I am not going to cite here the full content of the ten-point policy. You will easily obtain it at all embassies of the DPRK, in the booklets or pamphlets published on the occasion of the Sixth Congress of the WPK. I only want to note that this ten-point policy was rejected by the south Korean rulers because it is to their view "a series of preliminary conditions" tending to:

- overthrow the present Seoul "regime";
- form a government of coalition not hostile to the north;
- abolish the "National Security Law" of south Korea;
- ensure the withdrawal of all the American troops stationed in south Korea.

This is what Minister Pom Sok meant by "destabilization" and "suicide". But any man with common sense can not find fault with all principles and proposals advanced by President Kim Il Sung. These principles and proposals have clarity in content and conciseness

President Kim Il Sung, a man of honour supported unanimously and trusted always by the Korean people, loved towards the south Korean rulers as a man of peace all the time. His attitude is of a genuine patriot who sacrifices secondary things for the supreme interests of his nation and for things favourable and good for the Korean people. He knows only one Korea, only reunification of the country. Since the first day of the split of the Korean people, he has made proposals on more than 200 occasions for restoring the territory occupied by the foreign forces. The world knows this well. Anyway, the world will testify to this some day. There is no need to prove the good will of President Kim Il Sung, just as it is unthinkable and unjust to doubt his sincerity.

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What does he mean by suicide and destabilization? In the matter of fact, President Kim Il Sung intended to add these proposals not to the present rulers of south Korea but to the people there. He maintains that reunification should be absolutely realized according to the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great

the office, entrust the people's destiny and future of the country to the clean hands and finally act with courage and penitence? In order to expiate their sins, they should in effect do a great deal of penance.

The statement made at the same time by Vice-President Kim Il is very significant. If the south Korean rulers really wish to solve the reunification problem by removing the principal obstacle to its peaceful realization, they should, as the initial step, get the US troops withdrawn from south Korea, realize its democratization and put an end to the anti-communist confrontation policy. People who made mistakes in the past but now are prepared to correct their deeds and want to be pardoned can accept these three "conditions" to employ the terminology of the south Korean rulers. But these conditions are judged "unacceptable" by Seoul, its allies and also by the "impartial" observers of the West who continue to sympathize with Seoul.

Nevertheless, we, progressive people of the whole world, know that justice will win sooner or later. We are always convinced that this justice, though trodden underfoot in many areas of the world, continuously acts as a judge for peace and against war. We also know that world peace is indivisible and to divide a country into antagonistic two parts is a challenge against peace. As all unjust, intolerable division of countries which were unified yesterday and broken up today, becoming the objects of avarice and the causes of conflicts, the division of Korea is a negation of life and an insult to humanity. If we realize the gravity of the situation in Panmunjom and elsewhere along the fortified Demarcation Line, we should work in concert to bring back a sense to life by supporting the realistic proposals of President Kim Il Sung, by propagating them all over the world as much as possible, so as to bring the necessity and urgency of the reunification of Korea home

form and, above all, show a firm determination to tide over the difficult situation in a spirit of national unity by peaceful means. They are a sincere appeal to those who turn a deaf ear to the voice of reason and are to the eyes of the whole world vivid evidence of moderation and serenity.

The people of the DPRK supported by the freedom fighters in the area south of the Military Demarcation Line and all the progressive forces of the world thus drove the war instigators into a tight corner once more and upset the traitors to the sacred cause of national union and the reunification of Korea.

Bullets flew into the yard of Chon Du Hwan's. But they do not seem to have awakened the slightest national conscience of Chon Du Hwan and his collaborators. Rather the south Korean rulers seem to be refractory to peace and allergic to the reunification of their country.

On January 22, they decided to respond to the proposal of President Kim Il Sung, but it was, as always, to quibble, cavil and delay the solution of the problem which was becoming complicated as the days passed. For Seoul reunification should be realized through successive stages beginning with the exchange of visits between separate family members, sports meets and agreements of a cultural nature. They prophesy that reunification will be realized the 2,000's. In reality, the rulers of Seoul need imperialists in order to remain in power and oppress people who ceaselessly voice their anger against foreign occupation and put arms in the hands of fellow countrymen to suppress them. How can we talk about peace, independence and creativity with cutthroats who kill innocent people, imprison theocrats and gag the dissidents? How can we expect who soaked the streets of Kwangju and elsewhere with blood of their fellow countrymen to accept the fa

he office, entrust the people's destiny and future of the country to the clean hands and finally act with courage and penitence? In order to expiate their sins, they should in effect do a great deal of penance.

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the peoples desirous of justice and peace. It is these journalists, writers and those who use mass media general can, by redoubled efforts, act on the conscience of the world and thwart the plots hatched by the imperialists against humanity so unjustly exposed to annihilation in a new war breaks out. The non-aligned countries play an important role in checking this danger. These countries should aid one of their members and help it to achieve independently and peacefully the reunification of its country divided for 36 long, hard years.

The Korean question is our own question. I deeply felt it during my short visit to Korea in June 1981, not only at the sight of the shameful wall which shocked me seriously, but also and above all, among the industrious, happy and prosperous people of the DPRK. They are a people proud of their past and present and generous to the extent that they always plan their present life in view of the future needs of 50-million Koreans who will live in the Democratic Confederation Republic of Koryo. Because to love is before anything else to unite and to share in everything. The Koreans say *Chiwon* meaning Aim High.

This speech I made on the tribune of the world conference of journalists held at Helsinki at the end of January 1982, was, on my part, a contribution at least to the reunification of Korea. Eminent specialists of the Korean question and of international politics also spoke before or after me. They made their stand clear, supported the north Korean proposals. They reasoned their arguments and through it either made the attendants understand or simply expressed their views. I am going to refer to the final declaration adopted at that conference of national friendship. The declaration bears testimony to the fact that good will is found not only in the hell but in the world.

World Conference of Journalists for the Reunification of Korea

The Final Declaration

The World Conference of Journalists for the Reunification of Korea was held at Espoo, Dipoli, Finland, from January 30 to 31, 1982.

The conference was attended by 145 journalists and other eminent representatives of mass media reflecting widely different political views, who came from 68 countries of Europe, Africa, Asia, America and Oceania.

The conference discussed the proposal for founding the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo, the reunification of Korea and the role of journalists and the impact of the Korean situation upon world peace.

Proceeding from the desire to make for world peace by reunifying Korea independently and peacefully, the attendants of the conference declare as follows:

Korea Must Be Reunified

The Korean people is a homogeneous nation who lived in one and the same land and country for thousands of years, with a common language, culture and traditions. But

after the Second World War the Korean nation was divided by foreign forces.

The division of Korea has spelled indescribable misfortune for her people.

Family members and relatives separated in the north and the south cannot communicate with each other even by letter, far from visiting each other.

In south Korea national sovereignty is trodden underfoot and the people are undergoing great sufferings. Many patriots and journalists are imprisoned and the freedom of the press is violated daily.

The situation in Korea today constitutes a great menace to world peace.

All peace-loving people of the world must do everything they can to prevent the Korean peninsula being involved in another war.

It is urgent to support the Korean people in their struggle for the peaceful reunification of their country which brooks no delay.

Korea must be reunified and not divided in two.

The Proposal for Founding the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo

The conference paid special attention to the positive initiatives which envisage the realization of the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea. The conference emphasized that the reunification must be realized by the Korean people themselves without interference from outside.

The July 4 North-South Joint Statement made in 1972 pointed out that Korea's reunification must be realized on the basis of the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

The DPRK made many proposals to put an end to the division of the nation.

The conference acclaim all these proposals, especially the one advanced by President Kim Il Sung in October 1980 for founding the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo which won the worldwide interest and support.

This proposal aims to reunify Korea by founding an independent, democratic, peace-loving and non-aligned confederal state through the establishment of a unified national government in which the two sides are represented on an equal footing on condition that the north and the south recognize and tolerate each other's ideas and systems.

The great ten-point policy of the confederal state includes questions such as of adhering to Chajusong in all state activities, guaranteeing democracy, effecting econ-

and cultural exchange and cooperation between the north and the south, removing military confrontation between the two sides and pursuing a peace-loving foreign policy.

This proposal accords with the national interests of the Korean people and those of the neighbouring countries and all other peoples of the world.

Those who do not want the reunification of Korea encourage confrontation between the north and the south and try to effect the "simultaneous admission to the UN" in order to perpetuate the division of Korea.

No proposal has any significance if it is not based on the withdrawal of foreign troops and weapons from south Korea and the democratization of south Korean society.

The conference gives its support to true negotiations for the reunification of the two parts of Korea.

Tension Must Be Relaxed and War Danger Removed in Korea

To remove armed confrontation and the danger of a new war is the preliminary condition for the peaceful reunification of Korea. In order to remove the tension and war danger, the Armistice Agreement must be superseded by a peace agreement and all foreign troops must pull out of south Korea.

The stationing of foreign troops in south Korea is a constant menace to world peace and a violation of the Armistice Agreement of Korea, the July 4 North-South Joint Statement in 1972, and the resolution of the 27th Session of the UN General Assembly. It is also a violation of the national sovereignty of the Korean people.

The South Korean People Want the Democratization of Society and Freedom of the Press

National amity and unity cannot be attained as long as the violation of human rights and the repression of the press continue in south Korea.

The south Korean people should be able to enjoy the same rights and possibilities as other peoples to live in a society where democracy and freedom are fully guaranteed to everyone.

We, the attendants of the conference from 68 countries, unanimously express our solidarity with the south Korean journalists who work under extremely difficult conditions.

We demand immediate freedom of all our imprisoned colleagues.

And end should be put immediately to the persecution of journalists who strive to publicize exactly and objectively the hope, desire, and aspirations of the Korean people for reunification.

All people unwarrantably arrested and imprisoned, including Kim Dae Jung, must be released immediately and the penalties inflicted on them revoked.

The conference stressed the important role of journalists in creating public opinion on the Korean situation.

The cause of the Korean nation is a common cause of all peoples who wish to live independently and peacefully.

It is our duty to enlighten the whole world on the struggle of the Korean people.

The conference is convinced that all journalists who love peace and independence and who wield the pen for

the victory of justice will contribute to the reunification of Korea by supporting her people's desire for a unified state.

The Korean people need our solidarity and our unreserved support.

The conference proposes to establish an international information centre on Korea which will keep the public opinion of the world informed of the evolution of the situation in Korea.

We representatives of the press circles from 68 countries of the world appeal to all journalists, their organizations and all the press circles:

to support the south Korean people and journalists who are bravely fighting for democracy, freedom, national reunification, peace and liberty;

to support the Korean people fighting for independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

The declaration of the world conference of journalists has no binding force of people who did not attend the conference, but it awakens them and serves as a creed in their activity. This declaration opens a door of hope when defeatists take pains to shut it. The Western journalists are trying to hamper Korea's reunification and perpetuate her division by all means and, to that end, continuously supply their readers, including those in the third world to our regrets, through international news agencies, with various lies and falsehood about north Korea. But other voices which are clearer and less passionate to defend the indefensible are becoming ever louder.

Before my eyes lies an article carried in the *Monde* of October 14, 1980 under the signature of Mr. Pierre Bernard Couste, a deputy from Rhone and member of the foreign committee of the French National Assembly at the time and chairman of the study group for expanding the economic, cultural and friendship relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The article

has the title "There Is Only One Korea, but...". I do not accept the view of Mr. Couste concerning the initiative which France, as a member of the Security Council, should take in proposing to the UN General Assembly the diplomatic recognition of two republics of Korea (I recognize only one), but I only accept the conclusion of his article, which says:

"We desire to have relations with the entire Korean people no matter which way the Korean people may take."

I always ask myself how politicians can ever defend at once a thesis and the antithesis in one and the same matter. The article of Mr. Couste confirms my idea that red and black are to the eyes of politicians colours of the rainbow which harmonize best.

Here is its explanation:

"Proposed here is a diplomatic recognition of the reality. Namely, it is proposed that the USSR and China recognize Seoul while France, the US, Japan and their Western allies recognize the Pyongyang regime. As a result of this proposal, there will be a possibility that two Koreas appear in the UN. When the time comes, the two republics may doubtlessly consult with each other seriously within the boundary of the UN and according to the procedure decided upon by them a free election may be organized in conformity with the desire of the people in the two zones...."

Red and black easily blend into a colour. It can be said so because Mr. Couste goes on to confirm as follows in his article: "In fact, there is only one Korea. It is true today as it was so in the hundreds of years long history of this country which has an old civilization. The Japanese themselves recognized this at the beginning of the present century when this country was only one."

I do not think that the Koreans in the north of the Demarcation Line will willingly agree to Mr. Pierre Couste. He

says that he proceeds from the "reality felt by observers", but he entirely forgets the most important and clear fact, namely the fact that even "these observers who sympathize with this people", as he says, will not admit two flags for two republics seated at the same time in the UN to represent the Korean nation.

The reunification of Korea depends essentially on the Koreans themselves. One may justly ask oneself how this reunification can be realized independently and peacefully. But one will ask himself, as Mr. Pierre Couste does, "How can the responsible politicians of the two parts of Korea find a common language when there remains so evident a reality that south Korea is linked to the US, Japan and the West and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the USSR and China?" This is already a deviation from the problem making reunification almost impossible when it can be achieved by leaving it entirely to the Koreans themselves rejecting all foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea. But to recognize "this reality" means forgetting the fact that the DPRK, a sovereign country, wants to solve the Korean question on the strength of the Koreans themselves. It also means forgetting that President Kim Il Sung clarified on many occasions that the principle of Chajusong, an embodiment of the Juche idea (This idea teaches that the master of one's destiny is oneself and one has also the strength to carve out one's destiny), is the only principle for the solution of the reunification question of Korea.

President Kim Il Sung said:

"There may be various ways and means for accomplishing the reunification of our country. But, whatever its specific way or means, the reunification of the country must always be achieved independently by the Korean people themselves; it can never be otherwise."

A nation should solve its internal affairs by its own strength without relying on any outside forces. This is an inalienable right of an independent nation divided on account of the illegal occupation of half its territory by the imperialists against its will and its people's interests. Nobody doubts that the imperialists and their stooges have continuously manoeuvred for 36 years to turn the occupied area into a colony and military base. Ours is an era of Chajusong and an era of national independence, and the sincere and realistic efforts of the DPRK for national reunification will not be futile, because such efforts are based on legitimacy, justice and common sense and comply with the aspirations of all peoples of the world for freedom. The developments in Korea are hooked up to the hope of the 50 million people of a country united yesterday but today divided into two zones, eager to reunite in the end in fraternity and to work jointly for happiness and prosperity of all.

All who visit the DPRK are impressed, like Mr. Pierre Bernard Couste and like myself, by the remarks of Marshal Kim Il Sung who declares that "what he wants is the good of the Koreans". Because we should not forget that the DPRK is a member of the non-alignment, a developing country, whose past and aspirations are similar to those of different countries of the third world which constitutes the newly emerging force and fights to build an independent and prosperous new society. The tenth point of the ten-point policy of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo set forth by President Kim Il Sung in his report to the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea on October 10, 1980, is very important, I think. We reproduce it here, not only to calm down some who are excited but to advocate and illustrate a policy which we believe is sound and really conciliating.

"Tenth, the DCRK should, as a unified state

representing the whole nation, develop friendly relations with all countries of the world and pursue a peaceful foreign policy."

This is the text of the tenth point and the content of the proposal which follows is like this:

"The DCRK should be the only representative of the entire Korean nation in foreign relations. The confederal state should represent the entire Korean nation in the United Nations and other international organizations and will have to send a single delegation to all international gatherings where the whole nation is to be represented.

"The DCRK should adhere to the line of neutrality, follow the policy of non-alignment and develop friendly relations with all nations on the principles of Chajusong, noninterference in internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. In particular, it should actively develop good neighbourly relations with adjacent countries.

"The DCRK should be a peace-loving nation and pursue a peaceful foreign policy. A unified Korea will not threaten aggression against neighbouring countries or any other nations of the world and will not be a party to or cooperate in any international act of aggression. The confederal state should make the Korean peninsula a permanent peace zone and nuclear-free zone. To this end, it should prohibit the presence of foreign troops and establishment of foreign military bases on its territory and ban the manufacture, introduction and use of nuclear weapons."

We sincerely believe that commitments of this tenor and clarity in content as well as in form have been given by a Head of State, who, moreover, is a peerless hero of victories won one after another against colonialism and imperialism, thanks to his high sense of honour and his strong sense of

respect for his own word. We know well that some who are cross-grained or incredulous will not have doubt about this promise made to foreigners who know Korea little—whether neighbours or not—but they may be dubious about how the south Korean people will be treated after the founding of the confederal republic upon the reunification. Of course, we are neither diviners nor prophets and, therefore, cannot forecast about the future. Above all, we have no right to meddle in the affairs which are concerned only with the Korean people. But there is a passage which keeps our minds in peace with regard to the destiny of the Korean people in the area south of the Military Demarcation Line after the founding of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo. It is found in the first part of the chapter titled, "Let Us Reunify the Country Independently and Peacefully" in this document, that is, in the part just before the ten-point policy of the unified state.

President Kim Il Sung said:

"Our Party considers that the most realistic and reasonable way to reunify the country independently, peacefully and on the principle of great national unity is to bring the north and the south together into a confederal state, leaving the ideas and social systems existing in north and south as they are.

"For a long time, ever since liberation, different social systems have existed and different ideas have prevailed in north and south. If, in these circumstances, the country is to be reunified through national union, neither side should regard its own ideology and social system as absolute. If the north or the south should consider its own ideology and social system absolute or try to force them on the other side, it will inevitably lead to confrontation and conflicts, and this will lead to further

aggravation of division. Since the entire people regard national reunification as the supreme task, the difference in ideology and system cannot present an insurmountable barrier to reunification. People with different ideas can live in one country, and different social systems can coexist in a unified country. We will never force our ideas and social system upon south Korea but will subordinate everything to the interests of national union and reunification."

The point has been clearly declared before the whole world like this. A confederal republic will be founded through the establishment of a unified national government in which the north and the south are represented on an equal footing and "under which they exercise regional autonomy respectively with equal rights and duties" "on condition that the north and the south recognize and tolerate each other's ideas and systems".

There is no expression suggesting that they rely on chance, difficult to understand or beating around the bush. But we know that in the imperialist camp there are some critics who reject this proposal even without studying it and take exception to it, slandering and picking holes in it. The manoeuvres of the imperialists and the south Korean authorities for division always stood in the way of the reunification of the country. "These men", Jacques Brel called them so, have no interests in democratizing society, abolishing the fascist "Yusin" dictatorial system and dissolving the "south Korea-US Combined Forces Command", or in desisting from trampling mercilessly on the elementary freedom and legitimate rights, happiness and dignity of the Korean people in the area south of Panmunjom.

The reason for this is very simple. People speak about great powers, problems are debated among their representatives, the world is divided at Yalta or elsewhere to please this or that great power, innocent people are killed

everywhere by and for a great power, and people act as dictated by great powers.

...power makes the great powers fight among themselves in quest of the privilege of "liberating" this country, "pacifying" that country, by fair means or foul, no matter if it will please or not its inhabitants. Power, allegedly for the happiness of people, bombs them and burns down their houses. Power supplies explosives, napalm, atomic and neutron bombs and exterminates unruly people with rifles, tommy-guns, or simply with bludgeons and cudgels. All this is flavoured with preliminary tortures in a planned way. Therefore, the weak, who do not know their happiness of being made colonial subjects or placed under protection or assimilated, will doubtlessly prefer to live in mediocrity without adventure and danger. Misfortune always arises from the conflict touched off by "the strong" requiring "the weak" to surrender or die. But for the Koreans the reason of the strongest was not always victorious, we know it, because they proved it in their struggle against the Japanese first and then in the fight with the Americans. The Western press do not say much about the Koreans. When they speak about them, it is generally to disparage, pervert truth or spread calumny. Here is an instance: "On June 25, 1950, the north Koreans invaded south Korea. In three days the armed troops of the south stampeded, and Seoul, the capital, was taken. The Security Council decided, in the absence of the USSR, to aid south Korea and the US hurled into the war its troops stationed in Japan. Under the command of General MacArthur they crossed the 38th parallel on October 7, 1950. On the 16th the Chinese forces entered Korea. While the war was coming to stay, menacing to touch off a global conflict, the Koreans were shunning the zones of battle in the thick of the winter." This was written, perverting the truth, in the "Testimony of Christianity" of April 13, 1981 under the heading "1941-

1981: History of Fidelity". The article begins like this:

"A fierce war was in progress in Korea in February 1951. The communists and the Americans confronted with each other for the first time on the field of decisive fight...."

They write this kind of article for their Western readers and this is not to acquaint them with the facts actually taking place in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Their aim is to disseminate distorted historical facts, superficially treating very serious questions concerning the destinies of millions of people who want to know more and judge better, and thus inculcate on them plenty of nonsense.

"History of Truth?" This is not true. In the West, Frere Genievre put the title "How about having a talk about the Koreans?" to his article, which stank of antipathy to the yellow race living in the 3,000-*ri* Korea. Frere Genievre is an assumed name of Joseph Folliet, who is said to have joined long in writing the "Testimony of Christianity". How strongly all this stinks of racism!

When will the capitalist West decide to be "faithful to history" and give Caesar what actually belongs to Caesar?

Some time ago William Manchester put out a book concerning Caesar in the US. According to Claude Michel Cluny who introduced it to the readers of the *Express* (international edition No. 1954 of January 29, 1982), the book is an "attractive one with an original title". He says:

"American Caesar" stands for that which Douglas MacArthur could not be, which he might have become, that is, victor over the US President after having been the victor over Japan.

Two days later, he made the eminent Congressmen sob—like a bunch of "old women" according to the bitter words of Truman—and received 2,859 tons of various goods while passing through New York. According to the announcement of the Department of Health, it was four times more than Eisenhower had received on his triumphal

return home from Europe. Dismissed by Harry S. Truman from his command in Korea and relieved from his pro-consulate in Tokyo, MacArthur yielded. It happened in April 1951.

Hero of Chemin des Dames and the battle for Metz, he had gone to the Philippines many times. The Philippines which had been wrenched off the weakening Spain in 1898 was steadily heading for autonomy and independence. MacArthur married Louise Brooks (she was not an actress) who had been one of mistresses of General Pershing. General Pershing sent MacArthur to the Philippines in unpronounced reprisal in 1922. Thereafter, the Philippine people themselves called him back, gave him the post of Defence Minister and conferred the title of Marshal on him in 1936. Thus he became the only Marshal in the history of the US. Although the army consisting of only infantry battalions fought well, their measures like a "popular light comedy" to defend the Philippine Archipelago could not prevent Japan's invasion. His retreat to the Bataan peninsula was a masterpiece, but the archipelago was lost. The archipelago was his second homeland. Roosevelt ordered him to go to Australia. On his departure, he promised "I'll come back" and this became a legend.

In order to come back, he had to combat in Washington, before fighting against the Japanese, against panic and indecision, against the priority given to the war in Europe, and against the fact that the Navy under the reign of Admiral King regarded it as absurd not to entrust the war in the Pacific to it. Roosevelt took the side of MacArthur. Thus, the Pacific which covers half the global surface was divided between Admiral Nimitz in the Central North and General MacArthur in the Central South. The General demanded not men but only guns and aircraft. From 1931 on, he had a clear foresight: he foresaw that the future war

would be a war of movement, and for victory it was necessary to have the command of the air. He fought the Japanese to defend Australia at New Guinea, carried out "leapfrog operations", while isolating the enemy's anchorages and fortified points. His feint operations conducted to lessen casualties cut into two small parts the famous "Co-Prosperity Sphere", which had been built by Tokyo on a vast area from Korea to Java. He also divided the Philippines in two. He avoided the error of hazardous, costly in any case and useless landing on Taiwan.

He conducted the reconquest with vigour and displayed his strategic and tactical talents. He liked history very much, and so knew well of the battles fought by Genghis Khan and Caesar. He combined his rare talent of retreating battle with his fundamental endowment such as quick-sightedness and power of decision. Celebrated military historian Basil Liddell Hart saw from 1935 MacArthur as the only commander capable of making an innovation in Great Britain and the US. The fierce landing operations carried out by him off Inchon of Korea after 15 years made him all the more conspicuous against the hesitating chiefs of Truman's general staff.

Appointing MacArthur commander-in-chief of the allied forces in Japan in 1945, Truman said to him, "Your authority is supreme". But his directives were hazy, to say the least. And this was doubtlessly preferable. The reason was that Douglas MacArthur turned his operations into a political masterpiece by applying the foresight he had acquired during the years he lived in the beloved Philippines as well as his knowledge of the East to the mysterious country in the Far East, completely destroyed, defeated and astonished. The last veritable proconsul of our epoch brought the last "empire" of today, Japan, the baptism of "demokurashi" at the price of a million dollars per day.... MacArthur imposed the habeas corpus,

"recommended" the Constitution he worked out, granted the right to vote to women, and succeeded in the land reform.

Respecting the vanquished, he offered them a new responsibility, that of taking charge of their own destiny. This changeover to a modern full-grown state enabled the Emperor to abandon his divine status finally. Of course, the gold-embellished General was fond of drama and disliked seeing his performance disturbed. His surroundings were unstable, and coteries of flatterers around him were proud fame-seeking parasites.

His cruel relegation by Truman was caused by the following bungle: he demanded an early, strong blow to silence China, reunify Korea and spare the men to be dispatched from the homeland to the battlefield, without wishing to take a risk for victory. Back at home, he declared before the Congress in this vein—History shows us that the detente may lead to a worse war than the war people are trying to avoid, and there is no case of detente having resulted in anything but false peace. He foretold the setback in Indochina and asked Lyndon B. Johnson not to get the US involved in it. Here is another feature of his. He, who vainly tried to renovate the usages and education at the West Point, praised the vote of women, because women did not like war. War, he said, must be outlawed.

Manchester, said the commentator of the *Express* Claude Michel Cluny in the conclusion of his article, did not conceal the errors and shortcomings of MacArthur, his paranoia, authoritarianism, and his inclination to hear only the voices of Washington to his liking—which were often evasive and contradictory....

"William Manchester is a famous historian of our times. His book on MacArthur is not only a sum but also an exceptional novel narrated without caution for its model and leading characters and other persons. This history

book is astonishingly moving, ironical, precise and impartial."

We do not doubt William Manchester's impartiality and still less his great value as a historian of our times. He described MacArthur as man of a tender nature who "recommends clemency for war criminals excepting the confirmed ones" or as a pacifist demanding to outlaw the war. This seems to us not only excessive but very largely adulcorated. Because we do not doubt that MacArthur was a real hangman, the same type of war criminal whose hands are stained with the blood of innocent Koreans. The facts about this are incontestable and undeniable.

Here are facts reported by Genaro Carnero Checa in his book *Korea—Rice and Steel*, in Section 2, Chapter IV entitled "Anti-Yankee National Liberation War".

"At the dawn of June 25, 1950, Sunday, the south Korean troops crossed by surprise the 38th parallel and penetrated six kilometres deep into the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

"On the 25th, thousands of miles away, the United Nations Security Council was convened to consider the situation.

"The United States government acted with equal promptness. On the 27th, Tuesday, President Truman from the White House ordered its troops in Asia to occupy the Korean Peninsula, appointing General Douglas MacArthur Supreme Commander of the operations.

"One day later, the Security Council resumed to approve in an incredible manner of the aggressive action of the US troops, affording them its azure and white flag with olives surrounding the universe as authorization of and standard for their piratic actions.

"Thus began the fierce three-year war on the Peninsula of Korea.

"Truman, MacArthur and Trygve Lie, United Nations General Secretary, and all the propaganda machines of imperialism cried 'stop thief!' then, using the well-known trick of the highwaymen—to accuse others—to cover their own deeds. However, neither then nor in the following years their manoeuvres met with success. The whole world was well aware that Yankee imperialism and the puppet government of Syngman Rhee, with complicity of the United Nations, were aggressors and responsible for the bloodshed.

"The facts were obvious and stark.

"Since Yankee imperialism set foot on south Korea in the wake of the defeat of Japanese imperialism, its tactics in the Peninsula was total support to its general strategy in Asia, that is, to oppose anti-colonial revolutionary movement for national independence, attack the Soviet Union directly or indirectly, check in whatever form the victorious advance of the communist troops of Mao Zedong in China and let Asians fight Asians.

"It was an exterior version of anti-communist policy of McCarthyite witch-hunting, which characterized the national life of the United States.

"In view of this, the Pentagon proclaimed that their 'strategical frontiers' were in Asia, thousands of miles away from the coast of the United States, and considered the Pacific Ocean as 'our sea' under the Stars and Stripes.

"MacArthur became the champion who speaks 'from the position of strength' to maintain Yankee 'prestige' among the Asiatic peoples by the force of arms.

"All was intended for checking the irresistible advance of the Chinese revolutionary troops: from the negotiations of George C. Marshall, mediator between Jiang Jieshi and Mao Zedong and the astronomical aid of three billion dollars to 'Chinese nationalists', to the transportation of 'nationalist' armed contingents by air, sea and land to

Manchuria with a view to coping with the situation following the defeat of Japan before the arrival of the Chinese red troops and the Soviet Army. When Mao Zedong drove Jiang Jieshi into the sea, Yankees covered his retreat and helped him to instal himself in Taiwan, sending the Seventh Fleet as a hunting dog to protect him.

"Japan converted itself into a fortress of Yankee imperialism, armed to the teeth and with General MacArthur as viceroy.

"During five years Yankees contemplated with folded arms the birth and amazing progress of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea at the other side of the 38th parallel.

"But they did not resign themselves. Burning with anger, they whetted their swords. They created 'their own Guomin-dang', 'a feeble and uncertain police state in south Korea', using services of the servile Syngman Rhee and the traitorous clique.

"Nothing came of it.

"The revolutionary base of the north was fortified as a giant.

"Then they openly prepared aggression."

It was from that time that the imperialists started to write the bloody chapter of the Korean war.

The people of the DPRK today regard the-Americans as the sworn enemy of their country. (But should they be blamed for this?)

Their documents, speeches and other natural reactions are all anti-Yankee, it must be said. To their eyes, they attach the most ignominious and disgusting attributes, which man's brains can think out, to the names of Foster Dulles, Louis Johnson, Omar Bradley, Syngman Rhee, and above all, MacArthur, the most sinister war instigator.

Although the Koreans are proud of having defeated the US army, the most powerful in the world, they are not

oblivious that a part of their "end is all" attitude is
Yankees. Surely, their national sentiments are hurt by
having dealt an ignominious defeat to the aggressors who
boasted of their being the "most powerful in the world."
Clark, commander-in-chief of the UN forces at the time,
lamented for having gained nothing from executing orders
of his government but the unenviable distinction of being
the first commander of the US army in history to sign an
armistice agreement without victory. And Truman, on his
part, acknowledged that the Korean war was "a war which
ended quickly with the defeat" of the US. But on July 27,
1953, when the Armistice Agreement was signed at
Panmunjom, President Kim Il Sung, the victorious hero of
the war, could not forget that the war was barbarous and
devastating and cost millions of human beings who had
only wished to live in peace and concord. He did not forget
that the US imperialists had poured down over Pyongyang
alone more than 52,380 bombs in the one year of 1952 and
more than 428,700 bombs including napalm bombs during
the three years of war. "A bomb per inhabitant," my
interpreter told me, commenting sorrowfully on the car-
nage, before saying in somewhat serious and excited tone,
"War history has never known a similar example of
destruction and savagery, since the beginning of human
history until our days".

President Kim Il Sung who has advanced today the
ten-point policy for the country's reunification still re-
members that in order to realize their rule over Korea the US
imperialists hurled into the war front in this small peninsula
one-third of their ground force, one-fifth of the air force,
the greater part of their Pacific fleet, the troops of the 15
satellite countries acting under the signboard of "UN
forces" and the south Korean puppet army—over two
million all told.

The President says that the US imperialists not only

sustained military defeat but suffered the most ignominious defeat also politically and morally by committing bestial atrocities unparalleled in war history.

President Kim Il Sung said:

"Once Engels called the British army the most brutal force. The German fascist army surpassed the British army in brutality during World War II. The human brain could not imagine more wicked and more shocking atrocities than those perpetrated by the Hitlerite beasts at the time. But, in Korea, the Yankees have far outdone the Hitlerites."

This shows the intense horror President Kim Il Sung has for war and warmongers. Surely, a wide road to the peaceful solution of the reunification problem will be opened up before the entire Korean people and the DCRK will be born amidst joy and exultation, which is so earnestly longed for by the Korean people at home and abroad and all people of the whole world who love freedom and peace.

Yesterday and Tomorrow

Non-aligned Korea has become today a progressive country which opposes all kinds of domination and subordination and aspires after Chajusong.

Like all other non-aligned countries, the people's democratic Korea persistently holds fast to independent foreign policy and also confronts imperialism while strengthening her solidarity and cooperation with the world people who advocate Chajusong.

Korea won her freedom through struggle. The whole world which has a duty of solidarity with all people who fight, at all places and at all times, for human dignity knows well that the tragedy of Korea is not the doing of the Koreans themselves but was imposed on them from outside and continues to weigh down on their destiny as a real curse. If some people have a good memory or feign to forget, history will clearly tell them the truth.

General Kim Il Sung returned home in triumph after achieving the historical cause of national liberation by overturning Japanese imperialist colonial rule. During the anti-Japanese armed struggle he had organized and guided for 15 long years for freedom and independence of the country. On October 12, 1945, he returned over with emotion and excitement. The cry of the people "Long live General Kim Il Sung!" and "Long live the independence of Korea!" at the grand meeting held in Pyongyang reverberated all over the world.

In his important speech made that day, the General clarified the way to defend and push ahead with the Korean revolution in the new historical situation created after liberation and the immediate tasks to be carried out to turn north Korea into a powerful base of the Korean revolution along Juche lines.

General Kim Il Sung said:

"The vicious Japanese imperialism that oppressed and exploited our nation for the past 36 years has collapsed and the dark clouds hanging for long years over the 3,000-*ri* land of our fathers have been dispelled and, at last, the day of liberation has come, which our people awaited so anxiously. The 30 million people of Korea groaning under the barbaric colonial rule of Japanese imperialism have been restored to freedom and liberation by smashing the fetters of colonial bondage and, having emerged from their dark life, have entered on a wide avenue leading to a new life. Today our 3,000-*ri* land is radiating with hopes like the bright morning sun.

"....

"The time has come when we Korean people have to unite our strength to build a new, democratic Korea. People from all strata should display patriotic enthusiasm and turn out to build a new Korea. To contribute positively to the work of building the state, let those with strength give strength; let those with knowledge give knowledge; let those with money give money; and all people who truly love their country, their nation and democracy must unite closely and build an independent and sovereign democratic state."

How correct his words were! People, overjoyed, welcomed his scientific analysis made on the basic tasks to be executed immediately in the solemn struggle for building Party, state and army and a new, democratic Korea in the liberated fatherland. At this juncture, renegades of revolution, political speculators, Right and "Left" opportunists came forward with their so-called "lines" and economic, social and military philosophies on a new society to be built in future. This caused a confusion to the Korean people. The situation definitely and urgently demanded to lay down correct fighting tasks and organize and mobilize the popular masses for their implementation without delay.

Referring to such circumstances created right after liberation, President Kim Il Sung said:

"After the August 15 Liberation, new and critical difficulties cropped up in the path of the Korean revolution.

"The US imperialists occupied south Korea; the reactionaries flocked there from home and abroad; the former stooges of Japanese imperialism turned into lackeys of US imperialism to oppose the Korean people. We were confronted with the aggressive policy of the US imperialists who were not only opposed to the Korean revolution and the building of a unified independent state by the Korean people but were also seeking to extend their influence to north Korea. This meant that for the time being the Korean communist movement and all the revolutionary struggles of the Korean people had to be conducted separately in the north and the south, under differing sets of circumstances and in different forms of struggle."

For that reason, the broad masses should be rallied

around the Party and the revolution, and the destiny and issue of the revolution depended on this. Because this is evident to everyone who fights for the patriotic cause. A revolutionary organization must always begin with political work for organization of the masses, which constitutes the first seed, the "principal ferment", as pointed out by President Habib Bourguiba, the great mass-organizer who fought and defeated the enemy stronger than the popular masses of a bare-handed country fighting for independence and territorial integrity.

Thus, in Korea in a short span of time after liberation trade unions, the Peasants' Union, Youth League and Women's Union were formed, which regrouped around themselves the large masses, millions of freedom fighters.

Now that such mass organizations were formed with the masses rallied around them, the Workers' Party of Korea came to have its organizational groundwork and conduct its work more favourably. This enabled it to strike deep roots in the country, isolate the reactionary forces and lay the firm foundation for the formation of the united front. This united front called a conference of representatives of the north Korean political parties, democratic organizations, administrative bureaus and people's committees, and established the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea (PPCNK) on February 8, 1946. Reflecting the unanimous will of the entire people which was expressed by the delegates to this historic conference, General Kim Il Sung was entrusted with the chairmanship of this committee following a democratic election. With the establishment of this people's government charged with the tasks of carrying out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and converting the northern half of the Republic into a revolutionary democratic base, the Korean people came to have a potent weapon for the building of new society. In order to push forward this

tremendous work successfully, the "Twenty-Point Platform" was adopted on March 23, 1946.

President Kim Il Sung said:

"Taking into full consideration the balance of class forces and the relations of land ownership in the rural areas of our country as well as the centuries-old aspirations of our peasantry for land, our people's power defined those whose land had to be confiscated and carried out the reform in a thorough way, by confiscating the land of the landlords without compensation and distributing it free to the landless or land-poor peasants."

On March 5, 1946 President Kim Il Sung proclaimed the historic Agrarian Reform Law worked out by himself. On the principle of "The right to use the land belongs to those who till it", the law made clear that land owned by the Japanese imperialists and their stooges—the pro-Japanese elements and traitors to the nation—the land of the landlords who owned more than five *chongbo* and all other lands not tilled by the owners but rented out, should be confiscated without compensation and distributed free to the landless and land-short peasants as their property. In this way the feudal landownership and exploiting relations were eliminated for good. Peasants became the master of land and the agricultural productive forces made leaping progress like the winged horse, which, called "Chollima", has become the symbol of progress and advance that entail miracles of Korea.

Along with this, the Labour Law promulgated on June 24, 1946, liberated the working class, the leading class in the revolution, from imperialist exploitation and oppression and provided them with democratic freedom and rights, and also brought them a new life which would guarantee them progress, happiness and prosperity. The eight-hour day, the equal pay for equal work for male and

female workers and the paid leave were instituted, child labour prohibited, and measures taken to protect the health of factory and office workers.

All relations of exploitation and enslavement of the working class by the imperialists and the privileges were abolished and the democratic liberties and rights in work and life were guaranteed for good.

The nationalization of major industries in Korea, the first of its kind in the East, greatly encouraged the struggle of the oppressed people of the whole world against colonial and feudal exploitation. History will say that north Korea opened up the road of freedom, democracy and progress for the countries fighting for independence.

The agrarian reform and the nationalization of major industries carried out for the first time in the East by this small country which had just restored her national sovereignty, became a brilliant and concrete example of a high level attainable by man in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution. Following this example, others were created. As shown by historic events which took place in succession, the world was startled at north Korea's determination to attain its goal of civilization. In order to prevent the danger of split of the revolutionary forces caused by the existence of two working people's parties, these parties were merged into a Workers' Party. This enabled workers, peasants and working intellectuals to strengthen their alliance and smash the intrigues of the enemy to split the revolutionary forces. Namely, the merger of the Communist Party and the New Democratic Party into a unified party in August 1946 was an entirely correct policy based on a precise assessment of the political situation created in the country, the objective requirements of the revolution, the inherent requirements for the development of the Party itself, and the working masses' conditions improved through the democratic reforms. It

was also an original policy which newly developed the Marxist-Leninist theory on party building in conformity with the actual conditions of Korea. The north Koreans highly evaluate its originality, and this we believe deserves an expatiation to clarify the contribution of the Juche idea to the classic theories.

I refer here to a chapter in a very good book *Korea—Rice and Steel* (the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang, Korea, 1977) written by the late Genaro Carnero Checa, a Peruvian and friend of President Kim Il`Sung.

It is said in substance in the book that the question of "contribution" has not only theoretical but also practical significance in connection with the existence of state itself, the form of government, the political mobilization of the entire Korean people, their national defence and international behaviour, that is, with a series of factors vital for the development of the Republic and the revolution.

"Comrade Kim Il Sung," Carnero writes, "grasped the problems to which Marx and Lenin had failed to find thorough solutions because of the definite reasons in their times, magnified and unlocked them, thus making a substantial contribution to the Marxist-Leninist science. Viewed from the dialectical point, the reality of Korea has demanded and is demanding a number of lines proper to it."

And further he stated:

"Working-classization and firm material foundation—the prerequisite to socialist construction—present themselves first of all in the countries like Korea where the productive forces remained very backward at the time of the victory of the revolution and there was a big gap between the working class and the peasantry, which Karl Marx had failed to foresee practically in his theory. Karl Marx had in mind the 'developed capitalist countries', that is,

"One of these countries was Britain which Marx knew well and where he lived and worked."

This statement of Carnero is confirmed by President Kim Il Sung's speech *On the Question of the Period of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, which points out as to the developed capitalist countries:

"They consist of those countries where both rural and urban areas have become completely capitalistic and the capitalist relations predominate in the whole society, with the result that peasants no longer exist but there are agricultural labourers, side by side with the industrial labourers. ...In formulating the question of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, therefore, Marx assumed first of all a condition in which there existed no class distinction between the working class and the peasantry, and he proceeded from it."

The reality in Korea was quite different from it, and so was that in all countries which were in a semi-feudal, colonial or semi-colonial situation like Korea, that is, in Latin America and Africa, and the third-world countries as a whole. The reality of the Korean revolution which aims to build socialism demanded putting up the slogan of "working-classization", a slogan which calls for systematically remoulding the whole of society on the pattern of the working class, the sole class representing the future, in order to move to communism, jumping over capitalism, namely, the transition period of capitalism, from the semi-colonial and semi-feudal state by eliminating the economic, social, political and cultural distinctions between the working class and the peasantry.

In order to arrive at such a society, it is indispensable that power should be exercised in the socialist countries

through most strict dictatorship of the proletariat. Comrade Kim Il Sung says that it is by no means revising Marxism-Leninism to consider the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat in this way. He says: **"It is our standpoint to creatively apply the propositions of Marx and Lenin to the new historical circumstances and the specific practices of our country."** He believes and all Koreans share his opinion: **"I think this is the way of safeguarding the purity of Marxism-Leninism against dogmatism and flunk-eysm."**

I think this analysis needs no explanation, because the positive results obtained directly from the application to the third world of President Kim Il Sung's theory concerning the contribution of Juche to the classic communist theory, are not only evident but also have ineluctable coherence. And from here stems the "universal character" of this theory which all the Koreans acknowledge. The Koreans are proud that they have performed such marvels in all fields by carrying out the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions. Their goal is the intellectualization of the whole of society. They are striving to do away with the distinctions between town and country and liberate all men and women from hard labour. In order to liquidate for good the handicaps handed down from the feudal and colonial ages, the work of remoulding farmers and intellectuals on the pattern of the working class is constantly carried on.

In this connection, President Kim Il Sung proudly said:

"...our country has finally done away with the economic and technical backwardness it inherited from the old society and has joined the ranks of the advanced countries of the world as a full-fledged member. Our people ...can now proudly enter the international arena as a mighty and advanced

nation on an equal basis with all the other nations of the world, large and small."

But in this country which advances towards the perfect happiness of classless society and which regards the future with the head held high and the heart full of hope, an enormous blot darkens the horizon, and a yawning pit can at any moment engulf the gains of the people. A narrow area called Panmunjom is placed on war footing. Soldiers on both sides of the wall of sleeplessness, doubt and horror are on the alert day and night ready to plunge into a vain fratricidal war whose issue is uncertain, but which will prove fatal to each side. They are there to watch an incursion, to repulse an attack, and defend even an inch of land obtained at the price of so many negotiations and talks and documents which have already yellowed with time. Panmunjom is not a town like others. It does not live in the time of Chollima Korea, of three revolutions and of Juche. It is the frontier where muffled noises, even the footsteps of a solitary stroller, are quickly detected. So, who will dare to hazard entering this fortified area, except for those who have the mission of shooting everything that stirs and glitters and are alive in the entrenched camp of desolation, silence and death?

Who is to blame for this state of war without war and for this slow death hanging over the heads of people, now separated by a parallel transformed into a ferro-concrete wall?

The north Koreans will tell you the unhappy and cruel history of the war forced upon them by the south Korean reactionaries with the support of the US imperialists from 1950 to 1953. They will provide you with figures and statistical data concerning the war and show you diagrams, photos and films, which give the most objective and detailed portrayal of the scale of the holocaust.

They will also tell you about many other things—the

Two-Year National Economic Plan adopted at the Second Session of the Supreme People's Assembly on February 1, 1949 which envisaged increasing the tempo of growth in every branch of the national economy, restoring all factories still in ruins after the victory of the liberation struggle, raising the utilization of equipment to the utmost at all factories in operation, getting rid of the colonial one-sidedness in all areas of the economy in order to accelerate the building of an independent national economy, and producing large quantities of mass consumption goods, particularly daily necessities, to meet the demands of the people; and the enormous work to be undertaken to realize all these hopes in a record time far ahead of schedule.

They will also tell you, above all, about the US imperialists, the sworn enemy of the Korean people, who bore malice towards them for a long time and tried to check their glorious advance to a resplendent future and acted in haste against them in an attempt to tread underfoot all their grandiose hopes.

President Kim Il Sung said:

"Since the first days of their occupation of south Korea, the US imperialists have pursued the sinister aim of committing aggression against the whole of Korea and Asia and have completely converted south Korea into their military base for aggression."

Nothing can be clearer and more precise. The north Koreans say that the Americans stretched out their tentacles of aggression to Korea over 100 years ago. After the Second World War, the Americans seized south Korea to turn it into their colony of a new type, that is, into a bridgehead for the conquest of the whole of Asia. They desperately promoted preparations for a new war, rigged up the south Korean puppet army and increased their

aggressive armed forces by introducing large quantities of lethal weapons.

President Kim Il Sung also said:

"In the five post-liberation years, the Korean people, under the leadership of our Party, set up the Democratic People's Republic, their genuine state power, ran factories, built schools and developed agriculture through their own efforts."

But Syngman Rhee who unleashed the aggressive war under the aegis of the US imperialists schemed to destroy the gains of the people and deal a fatal blow to socialism in the north which appeared to spread rapidly to all parts of the country. From 1947, the imperialists and their stooges kicked up a crazy "northward march" racket, frequently provoked armed clashes along the 38th parallel, and thus aggravated the tension in Korea. The aggression was evidently premeditated, and it is not on June 25, 1950 that the war started in Korea but much earlier in reality. Because already from 1947 and 1948 the enemy in the south of Korea ceaselessly was given to incursions. Battles went on incessantly on Mt. Songak of Kaesong, in the Ongjin peninsula, at Yangyang in Kangwon Province and many other places, where the enemy committed crimes massacring people and plundering their property.

The north Koreans attribute all the responsibility for the war to the traitor Syngman Rhee and his ally the US imperialists and their stooges. They explain that at the instance of President Kim Il Sung the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland had made a proposal to the south Korean political parties, public organizations and public figures in June 1950 to hold a north-south general election on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the August 15 liberation with a view to establishing a single legislative organ, but the US imperialists and their lackeys resorted to all machi-

nations to prevent this proposal for peace, concord and fraternity from being brought to the knowledge of the addressees. The north Korean people also stressed that President Kim Il Sung had taken new measures continuously for the peaceful reunification of the country.

Had not the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK proposed to the "National Assembly" of south Korea that peaceful reunification of the country be achieved by unifying the legislative organs of the north and the south into a single one for all Korea? "But the US imperialists and their lackeys flatly turned down all the proposals which were unanimously supported not only by the Korean people but also by all the progressive peoples of the whole world and finally launched the criminal aggressive war which they had long been preparing." This is the last phrase with which my military guide concluded his explanation in one of three prefab hutments, which has now been turned into a museum for preserving the multitude of documents of all kinds related to "this shameful, fratricidal civil war", during which, my guide-commentator pointed out, "the US imperialists and the traitor Syngman Rhee threw our beautiful country into a sanguinary war with the intention of realizing their underhand colonial enslavement policy".

Our visit to the museum came to an end.

Before entering the historic hall where the Armistice Commission had meetings, I took some photos of the area. My camera lens caught the sight of US and south Korean soldiers. Some of them looked at my camera and some others threw stones at birds which unfortunately took it into their heads to hop up and down the causeway, forgetting that the promenade here was strictly reserved for soldiers in uniform. This is a dreary place 68 kilometres north of Seoul and 12 kilometres south of Kaesong. Everything here reflects the tension, reminds us of the war

and symbolizes the division. Some Western observers who had visited Panmunjom from the other side of the sloping wall on the southern side of the Military Demarcation Line, say that bridges there bear the names such as "freedom bridge" or "bridge for no return". "Near this last building of about 50 metres there is a poplar stump which witnessed the death on August 18, 1976 of two US soldiers of the UN Forces who were killed by blows of axe by north Korean guards who were opposed to the lopping off of the tree in question". A certain A.K., writing in the *Figaro* of March 22, 1981, described to us, very "impartially" for a reporter of a Right-wing journal, the setting of the incident which, I can assure it, conformed in every point to what I myself found out one day in July 1981.

The situation in Panmunjom is, of course, not favourable for reopening the talks for reunification. But it does not mean that there is no hope for peaceful solution of the problem.

Why is it impossible to agree to complete withdrawal of the US troops, the toppling of the present Seoul regime and the formation of a national coalition government which takes account of the profound and real aspirations of the south Korean people? Why is it impossible to agree to abolishing the evil laws which are rife in south Korea, and which cause so much ravages among the youths who love peace and independence and among the intellectuals who bravely fight to establish the democratic system or groan in jail of tyranny for years or die due to the most cruel and sophisticated tortures? The whole world knows what is going on in south Korea: colonial slavery which reigns there and terror, which are carried out daily against the citizens who refuse to submit to disgrace and indignity. Therefore, the proposal for founding a confederal state receives unreserved support of the entire Korean people who are anxious about the destiny of their country and

commands active sympathy of the people all over the world, who find in the proposal a great deal of good sense, realism and good will. Because it is no longer possible to dissociate the reunification question of Korea from the struggle of the world's people for national sovereignty and peace. Reunification of Korea is the most realistic way for recovering the national ties which have been cut. Reunification will remove the danger of perpetual division of the country without doing harm to either side of the two parties. The confederal state will become a neutral state which joins neither any political or military alliance nor bloc. Under the leadership of the unified confederal government the autonomous regional governments will pursue an independent policy within the limits consistent with the fundamental interests and demands of the whole nation. The reunification of Korea should not be solved by a distinguished man, or small groups of men, or several privileged persons, or only by the inhabitants of one region. It will only be realized through the union and joint efforts of all Koreans in and out of the country bound together in a national united front. This united front is all the more necessary under the present circumstances when the secessionists within and without are trying harder than ever before to perpetuate the country's division to satisfy their dirty interests and conserve their privileges and ill-gotten fortune.

A great number of Koreans in the north, the south and abroad, including those in Japan and the US, sincerely demand the founding of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo. The Koreans seem to be determined to wage a vigorous and fierce struggle in order to reunify the country, regardless of the difference in ideology, political institution and Rightist and Leftist opinions, and smash the "two Koreas" plot hatched by the imperialists and their stooges. I wish them success in their struggle. I am

convinced that the DCRK, once founded, will carry out independent policies in all spheres of state activity, free from all interference of great powers dominating the world and independent of any foreign country. Speaking of the reunification of the two parts of Korea, I think it will be interesting to reproduce a paragraph of an article carried in *Le Monde* of February 17, 1981 authored by Philippe Pons, a former correspondent of the journal, well-known for his "seriousness" and "impartiality".

Under the title "Factory-State", Philippe Pons attributes all activities, even those of athletes, air-acrobats and rope-dancers of the Pyongyang Circus, to the ideological demonstration which symbolizes the "gigantic struggle of the people for socialist construction" (he puts it in this way). Why not? North Korea is a country proud of its faith in the "ideological revolution". This "ideological revolution" is regarded as one of the three pillars for the development of the country and as of primary importance derived from Juche.

Philippe Pons writes as follows:

"To some economists, the divided Korea is an ideal laboratory where they can analyse how the two specimens of 'capitalism' and 'socialism' conduct their activities. In 1953, the country having been ravaged by the war, the two parts of Korea set out on a race for development, starting equally from an almost feudalistic state. But the two zones followed fundamentally different ways. The economy of the south depended on foreign capital and exports—this total dependence on the world market was at once her strength and weakness—while the north put stress on self-support, a harder way. After 25 years a strong attempt is made to draw a line between them, count the scores and decide the victor."

I do not know whether Philippe Pons, who is quick at figures, decided the victor in the economic race between

the north and south of Korea in an objective and final way after comparing their national production, examining their exports, reckoning the per-capita national income in the two zones and also minutely checking up their external debts. No matter how this numerical controversy may turn out, he acknowledges the following two facts after his visit to Pyongyang, although he is always apt to speak ill of north Korea:

“First of all, the DPRK seems to have a solid economy far better than supposed generally by those dazed by their debts to the Western countries. The second surprising factor is that an ideology, somewhat hallucinating to a Westerner, contributes nevertheless to making the country function in an economically satisfactory manner.”

We must admit, for our part, that this “hallucinating” ideology which advocates national identity, mobilization of the masses and the principle of self-reliance, converted north Korea into an industrial state which the world should now reckon with. This ideology will do the rest, that is, the reunification of the two parts of Korea divided today but to be unified tomorrow as a powerful, democratic confederal republic, not only because it benefits by its enormous resources and almost inexhaustible raw materials but also it relies as today in north Korea on its “most precious capital”, the diligent and disciplined Korean people, and on another capital no less precious for those who want to go to the depths of things: knowledge, virtues and health. Are these not other factors of importance which contend for the reunification of two parts of Korea?

Li Bom Sok, “Minister of the Unification Council” of south Korea, considers President Kim Il Sung’s 10-point proposal for Korean reunification “unacceptable” and deems that “for the moment there is no hope of progress”, but all struggle for founding the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo proposed by President Kim Il Sung.

This accords with the nature of things, demands of modern times, an expression of support by all countries aspiring after independence and peace, and the requirements of the international situation. Because the time has actually changed ever since 1972, when the delegations of the north and the south officially met and started dialogue for reunification.

Today's hope will become tomorrow's reality.

This is because one fact is certain. From the end of the 1960's the two zones of Korea set out on a bitter competition, each trying to "prove" the superiority of their system over the other side's and so justify it. It is free to support any side. But a fact calls our attention. Doubtlessly, the competition between both sides of the Demarcation Line is not alien to the economic achievements realized in the north and the south, and the confederation advocated by President Kim Il Sung will give birth to an economically very developed state. This is already a gain on the way to reunification, and doubtlessly it will hasten the day when both sides will sit together around a table of negotiation to discuss their problems without participation of foreigners and with a firm determination to reach an agreement wholly independently and in a real and profound spirit of creativity.

The games have not taken place in this region of the world which serves as the trump to great powers, and only the non-aligned policy can ensure independence and security for Korea.

Democratic countries in the East and the West and non-aligned countries can one day make the great powers understand that while they aid and support the regimes of terror or stifle the cries of distress and revolt coming from the depths of hearts of the suffering people, they cannot serve the cause of freedom and peace, and that hegemony in a region of the globe can only be ensured at the price

(unacceptable) of innocent people's blood, sweat and tears. On the globe where different peoples live in a state of agitation and convulsion, explosions can always take place and unfortunately the consequences are foreseeable, because the tensions always paved the way for wars, and a new war doubtlessly means the extinction of mankind.

The subtle play of diplomats continuously gives birth to new alliances, new division of the world (or of the remaining part of it), and a much more complex or simplified new geopolitics. Korea to be reunified actually has nothing to believe in but itself, creative strength of its people and its 5,000-year-long history, the source of the strength of Korea at present and tomorrow.

Let us no longer talk about the north Korean guards. Let us not mourn the death of the two poor American soldiers hit by axes. Rather, let us talk about the barbarous acts committed or being committed on this or that side, which do not honor humanity that is separated into right and left on account of ideologies, and these ideologies lead to war and bring about the death of millions of innocent people who were born to live and to love.

Let us be serious, Mr. A.K. Like me, you know well that in such a detestable and unjust war the heaven only exists for priests and the wounded, and that priests can be allowed to ask a favour of the heaven, pray to it for celestial bliss whereas others die and are killed as nameless soldiers. People living either north or south of the Demarcation Line underwent the three-year war from 1950 to 1953. The Korean war was a terrible one.

I saw nauseating scenes in Panmunjom, and like you, I saw documents and living witnesses of the horrors and barbarities suffered during the three-year war by the Korean people who defended their freedom, who fought back the aggressors who came from beyond the seas and

oceans, to have an adventure in a foreign land which constituted no menace to their own country.

Let us set aside the Koreans who fight among themselves to defend ideas or interests, but why on earth did these foreigners from another world get mixed up in this affair? I assure you that the devil-faced white soldiers who were captured while invading the north of Korea together with the south Korean soldiers were not proud by the side of their arms which were now silent. Their faces were clouded and sombre and their hearts must have throbbed with fear and doubt. Separated far from their country and home, they were shuddering in this strange alien land for fear of something awaiting them. It was really a pitiable sight.

While scanning the documents which were handwritten and signed, consequently, trustworthy, I recalled the films produced by the Americans on the Korean and Vietnamese wars, which show the barbarity of wars and injustice of their unleashing more clearly than any documents in archives.

The documents which were most interesting to me were those that revealed the fact that the US imperialists had unleashed the Korean war according to a premeditated plan. I said "imperialists" because the overwhelming majority of the Americans were not a party to the affair. We now know that they opposed the war incendiaries. I read a confidential letter of Chang Myon, the then south Korean ambassador to the US, addressed to Syngman Rhee. In this letter, Chang Myon affirmed that there was no danger of invasion of south Korea by the northern half of the Republic. I also read the letter "military strategy in the Far East", in which the notorious warmonger MacArthur admitted that the US imperialists had provoked the Korean war by surprise according to their premeditated plan. Therefore, do not say that the north attacked the south by surprise on a Sunday because a Sunday is a holy day and

north Koreans were atheists who respect nothing. Do not say that "poor Americans" were taken by surprise. Because it is not true and because defending a crime means either partially taking part in the crime or taking responsibility for the great part of its result.

Let us rely on facts and say that to spend a day at Panmunjom is somewhat to die of shame to be a man. But the one day is enough to defend, as a freedom fighter, the reunification cause of a country, which was partitioned into two antagonistic zones owing to many factors.

Mr. A.K., you write in your article, which is filled with prejudices, lies and hatred for the north Koreans, "With the Demarcation Line in between, the armies of both sides, over 600,000 strong each, are ready to start massacre.

"One side intends to guard freedom and the other to defend an imported ideology which one can perfectly dispense with." We do not agree to your opinion that freedom always exists on the side which you advocate so ardently and meanly.

The imported ideology you speak of and want our Korean friends to discard is an ideology which is inscribed in human history in golden letters, since it responds to an expectation and satisfies a natural demand for freedom. Of course, the universality of this ideology embarrasses you, because you are an apostle of another ideology which subjects men, grinds them down and denies them the slightest expression of revolt against the oppressors who exploited them without letup for centuries. Your article dictated only by hatred for the fighters for freedom (I mean our freedom, the freedom of the oppressed people, the colonial people, the people left out of count and all the disinherited on the earth), is so discouraging and so pessimistic as to the future of mankind, that it shuts the door to all peaceful solution of questions raised before mankind and of the disputes which split people. Was it not

written under the title "Impossible Reunification"? We believe in the virtue of dialogues between nations and hold that unification of Germany and the total or partial unification in the Arab world, African and Latin American regions, to say nothing of the reunification of Korea, are within the bounds of possibility. We do not despair of people. This is why our struggle is not only just but noble and glorious in particular.

I am not inclined to dwell on the atrocities of US imperialism perpetrated on the territory of Korea. Because, as you know it perhaps, France committed similar acts in their former colonies. Hitler was a specialist in them, but, nevertheless, he lost the war. The veterans of the racial segregation are continuously perpetrating the same crimes against the black people in South Africa. Israel does not give up its dream of extirpating the Palestinian race in the territories it has occupied in violation of all international laws, thus challenging all freedom fighters of the world including the north and south of Korea.

Like you, I also visited Panmunjom, and seated myself in the armchair once occupied by the head of the north Korean delegation in the meeting hall of the Armistice Commission. You know that the big common table divides the place in two: one side is reserved for the delegates of north Korea and their Chinese ally, and the other for representatives of the UNO, that is, the US and south Korea. But there I thought deeply of the peaceful and independent reunification, free from all foreign interference, of a country which only aspires after happiness and prosperity. Because whether you want or not, Korea is one and the Korean people is united by thousands of years long history and civilization, and also by internal struggles, and because brothers, fighting among themselves, will some day hug each other as if there had been nothing at all. You can class me among Utopians. It is up to you, but let

me have, at least, the right to dream and cherish hope. I am not wicked as you, for only wicked men have no dream and hope.

It is at Panmunjom that from time to time meetings took place between the Red Cross organizations of the two sides or between the official delegations of the two governments to resume the north-south dialogue for reunification. If my memory is correct, this contact started far earlier than 1972, but officially it was started that year. The last meetings took place in September 1980, hardly a year before my visit to north Korea. Here is an episode in connection with the meetings between the two Red Cross organizations. An official of the International Red Cross Society was staying in Pyongyang Hotel where my wife and myself put up. He travelled from the capital city to the Military Demarcation Line on the same day, at the same hour with us. After the visit to Panmunjom, we had to part. He went to visit a museum and my wife and me headed for an outpost perched on a low hill a few kilometres northeast of the joint security area of the Armistice Commission.

I saw with the binoculars of our guide and could feel keenly the gravity of the situation reigning in this zone, one of the hottest areas in the world. I was told that the alert is always red in this place, one of the most fortified zones in the world. Now let us listen to the officer, our guide, who not only willingly replied to my questions but spoke into the mike of my miniature portable recorder of Japanese make bought at a shop for foreigners attached to my hotel in Pyongyang. I am pleased to reproduce here the whole of this entirely improvisatorial recording, which, by the way, I consider to be the most stirring and most unexpected of the documents I have brought back from north Korea. I express my thanks to this officer and my Korean friend who kindly interpreted this direct and humane testimony for me without the least difficulty, with a smile which never left his

face during the whole of my sojourn in his country. Here is what is recorded:

"This is the northern Military Demarcation Line and is the advance post of the northern half of the country. All the military personnel serving here feel grateful to you for your visit to us, so much more because you have come from a very great distance. From here we can see the mountain tops occupied by Yankees and south Korean troops. They have radars installed there and keep watch on us. The central Military Demarcation Line you see here cuts our country in two and separates us from our south Korean brothers. The red points you notice on the horizon are the posts of M P and the puppet troops. Between two posts you see a route, and that is for bringing in munitions, military equipment and armaments of all kinds in flagrant violation of the Armistice Agreement. Do not forget that we are in an area called demilitarized zone. But as you see now we are facing a reinforced concrete wall, which you can see with the naked eye, as a long white line which, from east to west, forms the line of demarcation and cuts our country into two halves. This concrete wall is seen everywhere except in high mountains, deep rivers and the Panmunjom area where the Military Armistice Commission meets from time to time when the situation turns complicated at this artificial demarcation line. This 240-kilometre-long wall is vivid evidence showing the bellicose intention of the imperialists to perpetuate the division of the Korean nation and land. Who is going to rig up 'two Koreas'? Who is obstructing reunification? Anyone can easily reply to them. We, for our part, make all our efforts to have a peace talk with our enemy. It is because even this fortified wall can never stem our aspirations to reunify the country independently and peacefully.

"This wall, over five metres tall, symbolizes the imperialists in a frenzy and unrest, and prevents not only men

but also animals from free passage. As you can see from here, the wall has embrasures at intervals of 100 metres. Opening the road for the enemy of our country at any time, they will play the role of huge breaches for him to launch an armed aggression. They pretend to check by this wall the invasion of the south by the army of north Korea, but in reality they want to create "two Koreas". On the other hand, the wall can serve as the starting point of aggression against the north. You see from here the big iron gate which, 4 metres wide and 3 metres high, can be opened at any moment. Those dark spots you are seeing straight in front are doors built in strategic points. In an emergency even tanks may pass through so many of them. They not only divided our country but are continuously seeking a chance to invade us. Anyway, the Korean nation is one and sure to be reunified in view of its history thousands of years long. No barrier can perpetuate the division. If the country is reunified, this wall will become relics of the bygone days and historical evidence showing the enemies' malice and the bellicosity of the US imperialists. We will frustrate all manoeuvres of the enemy thanks to the wise guidance of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, our respected President, and the support and encouragement of all progressive peoples of the world including the Tunisian people. I sincerely hope that the Tunisian people will strive in future as ever to support the just cause of our people for national reunification.

"With your permission and if you have a little time for it I wish to go into another subject, that is, the psychological warfare which we are subjected to almost every day. You see houses in front, they can be seen clearly from here. They do everything to give an impression that they live happily there. But it is a trick. There live none and the houses are all empty. On a fine day, we can see clearly that the houses have no window and door. When the sun is the

wind, one can see their roofs shake. They are all simply made of plastic and can be blown off easily by a little gust. They are a setting with which the enemy intends to take us in. A veritable masquerade is staged before our eyes at each instant. The other day, they brought women there. We could not understand why. But we guessed that they did so to make our soldiers jealous. However, imagine that they were not women but, in reality, disguised soldiers attired like women. We presently discovered the secret. None could be taken in by such a trick. We easily discovered it seeing them urinate. Women do not pass water standing. Anyway, women of our country crouch when urinating. It is their habit. It is intolerable to find that between the citizens, people of the same country, one should resort to such degrading and frivolous methods, apart from all consideration of partition and division of the country" (Sic).

The officer told us all this in an amusing tone and with such a gentleness in his voice that I preferred—for once—to record his speech as a whole instead of being satisfied to the interpretation. What he said was of great value and it should not be missed.

"The psychological warfare sometimes takes a really ridiculous turn, judge for yourself", the officer resumed. "One day a big leg of pig or something like that, anyway a huge chunk of meat, came in our sight. It was a hottest midsummer day and so very sultry. But the meat remained hung on a wire for several days, and it didn't rot. Miracle? No! It was a fraud and a cheap trick. It was made of plastic or painted wooden block or perhaps cardboard. Anyway it was a farce of bad taste. They take pains to give an impression that they live happily on the other side of the wall, like kings. But the sentries on both sides of the Military Demarcation Line know well that all this is a ludicrous play. They talk to each other and change words, you know. They stand face to face a few metres apart,

and our men know only too well that on the other side they only eat canned food. They try to make us believe that they live in peace and have no intention to invade us. But who are they trying to cheat? They dare to claim that it is the people of the north who neither want peace nor the reunification of the country. Further, you should wait till the evening to see that those houses have no light and to know that no one lives in them. Only the military posts and pillboxes on the mountains are lighted. Before the reinforced concrete wall was built, there had been barbed-wire entanglements. The Armistice Agreement provides that a barrier or barbed wire may be set up two kilometres to the south of the central Military Demarcation Line. But that wall is only 500 metres away, or at most one kilometre from the central Military Demarcation Line. At the 30th Session of the UN General Assembly, it was decided that the UN forces must pull out. But although they are enrolled as soldiers of the UN under the UN flag, they do not at all respect the decision of the international organization and stay there as a hostile armed force. Like this they are continuously neglecting the resolutions of different international meetings. So, how can we expect them to listen to the representatives of the neutral observers? Reunification is not yet realized on account of the US army's occupation of south Korea.

"That wall measures 10-12 metres wide at the base and two-three metres at the top. You see the lamentable mess! When we are thinking that with all the cement and steel used in it, we could build dwelling houses and the like, we see that they have gone clean out of their mind and hatch the most sordid designs against the entire Korean people. They intend to hang on to our country for ever. It is proved by that wall."

Preparing myself to leave the place, I told my host that in Tunisia people know that there is a Military Demarca-

tion Line and the troops are stationed on both sides of the Demilitarized Zone, but they do not know, as in many other countries of the world—I presume—that there is an impregnable and so large wall, which is in any case more imposing than the one erected between two Berlins. This is sad and unjust, and it proves above all that in Tunisia, as in many other developing countries, people are still dominated by the capitalist-inclined news agencies, and that it is high time that we organized our own news agencies to restore the truth and inform our peoples objectively of what are taking place actually in the world.

We now know, at least we have begun to know, many things about the Korean question, about the war incendiaries in Korea, and about the apostles of peace. Above all, we have learned the fact that north Korea is a non-aligned country and that she has definitively chosen neutrality and peace and decided to continue with the system which has widely demonstrated its efficiency, stability and maturity.

It was already dark night when we left the fortified base. Our car soon took us back to Kaesong, first passing through the fields along the tracks which connect clean and well-lighted villages, and then along the highway, wide and well-paved. A sumptuous dinner was waiting for us at the hotel, and our host, Mr. Mayor, revealed himself to be a very refined gourmet.

Great Options: Juche, Non-Alignment and Continuity

In 1975, non-aligned countries had a meeting of foreign ministers in Lima, the capital of Peru. The meeting adopted resolutions of historic significance, including the one favouring the admission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the non-aligned movement.

Today the DPRK is receiving in this movement an active support of Asian, African and Latin American countries which assert themselves as a political force independent of great powers. Indeed, the non-aligned movement is exerting a definite influence on the course of enormous change now taking place in the world. The member states of the movement belong to the newly-emerging forces opposed to the reactionary forces and represent the main current in the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and anti-racist struggle of our age, the age of Chajusong.

No force on earth can stem this current which reflects the legitimate demands of hundreds of millions of people who are waging a vigorous uncompromising joint struggle against the moves of the dominationists of all hues for division, subversion and annexation.

The third world demands to revise or unconditionally tear down the unfair old international order which was introduced by the big powers entirely to their own profit against the actual requirements of the people of the whole world for progress and prosperity of mankind.

This movement finds its source of strength and vitality

in the strengthening of unity and cooperation of non-aligned countries, which provides the decisive guarantee for securing joint victory in attaining the ideal and goal set when the movement was founded.

What is important here is to fight to do away with the old world order which prevails in the fields of the economy, the press and ideology in particular, and to set up a new order among nations which will be most reasonable, fair, efficient and solid.

In short, this means fighting to prevent the imperialists from acting arbitrarily towards the world people, from plundering the third world of its resources at will, and from dividing the world into their spheres of influence and domination to their own profit through the covert collusion of big powers.

Juche Korea has consistently strengthened her friendship and solidarity with socialist countries. Ever since she joined the non-aligned movement, Korea has received an active support of Asian, African and Latin American peoples in her struggle for national reunification (which started 36 years ago).

In his answer to the question raised by a delegation of the Chinese Xinhua News Agency on April 23, 1981, President Kim Il Sung referred to the non-aligned movement of the new-emerging forces which rose against the "supremacy" of imperialism and the great powers and to its might and the obstacles hindering its development at the present time. He said:

"... the non-aligned movement is a progressive movement against all forms of domination and enslavement and for Chajusong; it is a powerful revolutionary force of our age which stands opposed to imperialism.

"This movement, however, is now undergoing a

series of ordeals in face of the manoeuvres of imperialism and all domination forces.

"Imperialism and all domination forces are locked in fierce rivalries in order to divide and sow discords among the non-aligned countries and drag them into their spheres of domination.

"They are craftily taking advantage of border problems which are hangovers of the colonial rule, and other complicated problems, to drive wedges among non-aligned countries and foster hostility and antagonism among them to set them against each other.

"Under the pretext of 'support' and 'protection' they are also vying with each other in involving themselves in the disputes between non-aligned countries and openly interfering in them, in an attempt to put these countries under their own control. As a result, a very complicated situation has developed within the non-aligned movement.

"One dispute is breaking out after another between non-aligned countries and some of them try to settle the disputes by force of arms. Now disputes are developing into wars rather than local armed conflicts.

"Imperialism and all domination forces are intervening in the disputes, which renders the situation all the more serious.

"Within the non-aligned movement itself, there are attempts to get the movement off its track and lead it to another road.

"Unless this situation is remedied, the non-aligned movement cannot develop.

"At present, the non-aligned countries are facing an urgent task of effectively overcoming the difficulties which have cropped up within the

movement and further expanding and developing it.

"In order to fulfil this task, it is of vital importance for all the non-aligned countries to strictly abide by the fundamental principles of this movement.

"All the non-aligned countries must firmly adhere to Chajusong. They must on no account follow or be dragged into any bloc nor must they cause division within the non-aligned movement or form a new bloc.

"The non-aligned countries must observe the principle of complete equality and noninterference in each other's internal affairs and must strengthen their unity and cooperation.

"In particular, the non-aligned countries must not resort to force against each other or escalate disputes to military conflicts.

"They must not antagonize or fight each other, taken in by the schemes of imperialism and all domination forces to divide them and sow discord among them, but must unite closely.

"They should not only firmly unite politically but also cooperate closely in economy and technology.

"They should actively struggle for the disbandment of all military blocs, the dismantling of all foreign military bases and withdrawal of aggressive troops from others' territories and for the establishment of nuclear-free zones, peace zones in all parts of the world.

"They should strive jointly to destroy the inequitable and unreasonable old economic order, the root cause of international exploitation, and establish a new international economic order.

"In the international political relations, too, they should struggle to deprive the imperialist powers of their privileges and arbitrariness.

"When all the non-aligned countries do so, I believe, the non-aligned movement will expand and develop to be invincible and fulfil its historic mission."

Under the support of her friends including the Asian people, Korea which is carrying on the three revolutions with full political and ideological preparations will resolutely fight against imperialism which is hindering Korea's reunification and will determinedly beat back the moves for reinvasion of the Japanese militarists who once inflicted untold losses and sufferings on her. Korea, a communist-state, has fine, exemplary neighbourly and cooperative relations with European and Asian countries in all fields.

At his interview given to the Xinhua News Agency's delegation on April 23, 1981, President Kim Il Sung further said:

"Korea and China are neighbours linked by the same mountain and river. For a long time, their peoples have been close comrades-in-arms and class brothers whose destinies are bound up with each other, sharing weal and woe in the arduous struggle for national liberation, class liberation, socialist revolution and construction.

"The Korean and Chinese peoples have always shared their sorrow and joy, supported and cooperated closely with each other in the course of the struggle for the common cause.

"The history of Korea-China friendship is shining with its long traditions and countless unforgettable and stirring events. It is a living example of proletarian internationalism.

"No force on earth can destroy the great friendship between the Korean and Chinese peoples, which was sealed in blood in the flames of the arduous revolutionary struggle and has withstood all the trials of history.

"We immensely treasure this friendship.

"In the future, we will make our active efforts to continue to develop the friendship in all fields of politics, economy and culture between our two Parties and two peoples that are bound with each other by class fraternity and comradeship."

"In the international arena the anti-imperialist, independent forces grew in scope and strength, whereas the imperialist forces of reaction weakened greatly. The sphere under imperialist domination dwindled considerably on a worldwide scale and the colonial system of imperialism is in its last days. The days when the imperialists oppressed and exploited the people at will and had the world under their thumb are gone for ever.

"At present the imperialist countries are undergoing a serious economic crisis without precedent in history. The fuel and raw material crises are sweeping across the capitalist world and the imperialist powers are floundering in great disorder and chaos due to the stagnation and decrease of production, inflation and mounting unemployment.

"The US imperialists who dominated the capitalist world as the ringleader in the past are in a more difficult situation now. They have been isolated and rejected by the people everywhere in the world and lost most of their monopoly and leadership even in the capitalist world.

"The whole process of international develop-

ments ... showed clearly that ours is an age of Chajusong when the oppressed and humiliated people have appeared as the masters of the world and are pushing the wheels of history with vigour according to their own will and demand. The people of the world oppose all forms of domination and subordination and call for Chajusong, and many countries are taking the road to national independence and sovereignty. This is the main trend of our times which no force can stop."

The DPRK worked out its foreign policy in keeping with the requirements of the developing situation and implemented it energetically.

But the peace policy of the DPRK is continuously running up against obstacles laid by the dictators in the south and their allies. Their allies still keep stationing over 42,000 combat-ready troops in the area south of the Military Demarcation Line in spite of President Carter's election commitments, their excuse being to block the advance and global spread of communism.

On July 4, 1972, the Korean people in the north and the south agreed to a joint statement enouncing three principles which would become the basis for reunifying Korea by peaceful means. At the time this statement was welcomed very favourably by the entire Korean people. The next day, however, on July 5, the US State Department spokesman declared that the United States would push ahead with the modernization plan of the south Korean army, had no intention to cut down its armed force stationed in south Korea and would endeavour to make the south Korean authorities get the upper hand.

Is there a need to recall that the United Nations, at the 30th Session of its General Assembly in November 1975, adopted a resolution envisaging the dissolution of the "UN Command", withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in

south Korea and creation of favourable conditions for switching the armistice over to a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea?

Where on earth is the international legality and where is to be found, in the international logic, the right of peoples of the world to dispose of their own destiny?

Despite the manoeuvrings of the imperialists and their allies, the UN recognizes that the stationing of foreign troops in the Korean peninsula is the main cause of tensions in east Asia. The imperialists regard the division of Korea as an accomplished fact and, in the final analysis, the Korean question boils down to the question of reunification or division, one Korea or two Koreas.

President Kim Il Sung is firmly convinced that the new-emerging forces, which stand opposed to the reactionaries and imperialists for peace, democracy, national independence, victory of the cause of socialism and for building new Asia, Africa and Latin America, will surely wipe out all evil forces which trample on the dignity of humankind and run against the trend of history. He said that telling blows were dealt in succession to the imperialists in Korea, Algeria, Cuba and elsewhere in the world. He further said

“Resorting to more crafty double-dealing tactics in an attempt to find a way to save themselves from their doom, the imperialists, headed by US imperialism, are trying to swallow up the small nations one by one while improving their relations with big countries, and manoeuvring to make Asians fight among themselves in Asia, Africans fight among themselves in Africa and Latin Americans fight among themselves in Latin America.

“However, neither a war of aggression and armed suppression nor double-dealing tactics and

rehabilitation work had started already in the thick of war.

Marshal Kim Il Sung worked day and night together with architects and specialists. He denied himself even a rest aglow with a desire to rebuild the ravaged Pyongyang into a modest but dependable clean city amidst verdant and flowery parks as if to show off the fortitude of the Korean people. This is symbolic of his earnest desire to demonstrate that the Korean people under socialist system are leading such a good life as they have never lived.

Monumental edifices lining the broad avenues look so neat and so well designed that they even make people think they have been cut out of cardboard. The decoration bears no resemblance to any in all capitals I have seen in the world. It is neither like New York nor Paris nor Beijing. It is quite different, a kind of symphony. The city was not rebuilt but replaced and remodelled, according to a daring plan, into a huge garden city with 48 square metres of greenery for each citizen. This is indeed a world record, and enchanting to the eyes of foreigners who are accustomed only to see in large metropolises old-fashioned, dismal buildings, narrow dark streets, or buildings of glass and steel, soulless and unattractive, cold like death and rigid like a judicial king.

There is today a person who helps President Kim Il Sung in the political, economic and cultural fields. It is the dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il, as called by all Koreans I met. He is also much interested in aesthetics in general, and in beautifully building up the capital of Korean revolution in particular. It is also he who controls contemporary artistic production. He is fond of opera above all and, I must say, has succeeded in making me, a Tunisian who has never been interested in this poetic-musical genre, love opera. Comrade Kim Jong Il seems to be a born promoter. He had beautiful statues erected in praise of the revolution in green spaces, in the middle of sumptu-

ously arranged fountains, to give pleasure to people and brighten the immense squares in the city. He gives the architectures more human touches, destroys the old things to create a symmetry, invents an idyllic environments where the Pyongyang people, grown-ups and children, will live and enjoy themselves, organizes leisure time for the working people after hard hours of physical or mental labour, so as to continuously satisfy their curiosity and cultivate their artistic sense.

The Koreans excel not only in war and military arts. From the ancient time of the three kingdoms, the Korean children were good at dancing, singing and playing musical instruments. They learned horse-riding and archery and were all good riders, hunters and tireless explorers. They propagated the methods of weaving, tanning, and embroidering, and initiated the methods of making paper and black ink and building water mills. Even now they show cleverness and dexterity not only in the construction of buildings, roads, bridges and embankments but also in cuisine and handicrafts.

When the country was liberated from under the yoke of Japanese imperialism in 1945, one of the first preoccupations of President Kim Il Sung was to carry out river improvement work on the Potong which flows through Pyongyang. Before the outbreak of the war in 1950 such nature-remaking projects had been under way on an extensive scale. The American air raids reduced the whole city to ashes. After the victory, everything had to be started again. Today the Taedong River and its affluents have been newly readjusted. The water flows down sparkling and gay under the sun between the banks running along the spacious promenades fringed by willows and aspens. Everything is serene and tempts one into meditation and reverie. The Pyongyang Metro meandering along underground is a wonderful work of brains. My interpreter, with a

thoughtful, philosophical air, told me, "It will take you many hours if you leisurely make a round of these magnificent underground stations and escalaters. Anyhow, everything is intended for security."

Security, security. We often hear this word in Korea. In the south, the dictatorship rigged up through a military coup stamps out democratic freedom, fakes elections, bans demonstrations, treads underfoot human rights and legalizes the stationing of foreign troops on the Korean soil. Under such a system none can live in security. In the north, everyone works hard for great achievements and success is attained in remodelling the outmoded ideas and in creating the master of the revolution and construction, a man of a Juche-type. But because the country is divided, people cannot live in security.

Japan which once occupied the Korean peninsula for 36 years, always maintains that the security of the Japanese archipelago hinges on that of south Korea.

The US Administration wants to keep their bases in south Korea for the security of the "free world" and is stubbornly trying to perpetuate the division of Korea. And nobody is surprised at seeing the Koreans do their best to fortify the country impregnably today. Under the present system established by virtue of President Kim Il Sung's genius, all conditions are provided for success in work. The reunification of Korea will be realized step by step in the course of years.

The Korean people will be faithful for ever to the political line advanced at the Kalun Meeting by the President in 1930 when he was 18 years old yet.

Already during the period under Japanese imperialist occupation, the President taught that to complete the Korean revolution all problems facing the nation should be solved independently above all by "discarding dependence on others", "opposing dogmatism" and pursuing

the line of "thinking with one's own brains." Congresses of the Workers' Party of Korea unswervingly followed this original line whose effectiveness and maturity had already been affirmed. The Sixth Party Congress was no exception, it reaffirmed the line.

The Sixth Party Congress held in October 1980 invited 177 delegations and delegates from 118 countries and was enveloped in an atmosphere of non-alignment. Clarifying the foreign policy, President Kim Il Sung convincingly reaffirmed the independent stand of the DPRK and elucidated in a logical way the tasks for defending world peace and security against the policy of aggression and war of the imperialists and dominationists.

The Government of the DPRK will establish diplomatic, economic and cultural relations also with capitalist countries which are desirous of having state relations with it on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and willing to pursue a friendly, non-aggressive and equitable policy towards the north and the south of Korea. It seems to me that such an open-hearted policy will accelerate economic development on the one hand and, on the other, serve as a starting point for the peaceful reunification of the country.

What is important today for the DPRK internally and externally is to maintain a strong power.

Therefore, Korea was concerned about the perspective of continuity and the choice of the person who would continue with the cause of the great leader without break, without vacillation and without leaving the slightest gap which might offer an opportunity for foreign interference.

It is a public knowledge that at the Sixth Party Congress, the social and military cadres elected with unanimous votes the dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il Member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau, Secretary, and Member of the Military Commission of the Party

Central Committee.

The Party congress proclaimed the reelection of the dear leader to the important post. People had been calling him "the glorious Party centre" for long, accepting him as successor to the great leader, the sun of mankind.

All Koreans I met in and outside Korea extolled him expressing high respect for him. What kind of person is he?

Anyway, the attendants at the congress confirmed the leading role played for long by Comrade Kim Jong Il at the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee. But the West is little informed of him. International publishing houses also seem to have no material on him. The Koreans are unanimous in saying:

"Only a man who is endowed with an excellent quality out of common, an ability of sagacious leadership, virtues indispensable for a great chief and invariable fidelity to President Kim Il Sung can assume the glorious task of materializing the great leader's thoughts and teachings and of advancing the revolution and conducting it from victory to victory, in keeping with his designs and intentions, so as to accomplish the great cause of Kimilsungism."

Comrade Kim Jong Il is the person who will enliven Korean society by his dynamism and revolutionary faith. All the Korean people say that he is a man who knows the law of development of history and the popular masses' aspirations and is capable of analysing and generalizing the experience of revolutionary struggle. He is clear-sighted, that is, sensitive to the requirements of the contemporary world and the revolution. He is capable of laying down a scientific line of action, strategy and tactics and further developing and enriching the revolutionary thought and theory of President Kim Il Sung.

He asks others not to talk much about him and opposes giving publicity to his merits in the ideological and theoretical fields. But the Korean people elected him, for

his qualities, so that he could accomplish the monumental work.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il is also a man of action who knows no fatigue in work. From the day he started to aid President Kim Il Sung in all affairs of the Party and state, he worked day and night with unabated zeal. He guides consultative meetings in various fields, meets many people and gives them advices and precious instructions, and at nights checks many kinds of reports on work and revises and corrects editorials and articles to be carried in the Party organ. He has written himself scores of treatises and articles, including *Let's Firmly Establish the Monolithic Ideological System in the Whole Party and the Whole of Society*, *On Further Improving and Strengthening Party Ideological Work*, *Let's Create Many More Revolutionary Works of Literature Required by Our Socialist Realities* and *On Central Tasks to Be Tackled in Party Work This Year*. (He has already published some of his works which show his genius.) Lost in his creative work, he often greets dawn without sleeping a wink.

Comrade Kim Jong Il who formulated the revolutionary thoughts of President Kim Il Sung as Kimilsungism, developed and enriched its theory on the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions and founded the theory of modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea. His another important ideological and theoretical achievement is the Juche-motivated theory on literature and art which is characterized as communist humanics.

The dear leader who created a new aesthetic principle on the basis of Juche philosophy analysed works in a new ideological light to overcome the shortcomings revealed in practical activities and thereby opened up a new revolutionary phase in all fields of literary and art activities. With this theory correctly applied, monumental art works which are aesthetically perfect are created in Korea today.

and, on account of their influence, they are effectively serving the purpose of ideological education of the masses.

Comrade Kim Jong Il takes charge of all matters relating to socialist economic construction, development of culture, science and education; the press, military and international affairs. He is convinced that victorious onward march and revolution always require, as a pre-requisite, the great ability of mobilizing the masses, in addition to a scientific theory, strategy and tactics. The Juche-oriented art of leadership and method of guiding the masses created by President Kim Il Sung should be properly succeeded and enriched so that they may prove effective in all social activities. The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il originated the theory on "speed campaign", which deepened and developed, in conformity with the revolutionary requirements and the people's desire, the Chollima Movement that had called forth so great a response in Korea after the war. Agitation by artistic means plays an enormous role in pushing forward socialist construction. Because of agitation for production, namely, political work which awakens the militancy and zeal of the masses and rouses them to collective heroism and innovation, the great leader's appeal finds a profound response in all fields of life and brings about unprecedented progress. To help in economic work, a "70-day battle" was conducted on an all-Party, all-people and all-nation scale under the guidance of the dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il. A Korean friend told me: "What prompted us, in those days of creation and innovation, to carry out the Party's wishes and to work silently for the revolution was by no means a mere sense of obligation or coercion from the higher level but our fidelity to the great leader. As a result, old nominal capacities were smashed and unimaginable innovations brought about by tapping every poten-

tiality. During this great battle for production and construction which lasted a little over two months, our industry increased by 70 per cent on an average. The national economic plan for 1974 which had originally been set high was by far overfulfilled. The ability of leadership to mobilize people and the enormous potentialities of the popular masses were the two factors which were combined together to enable us to score the unimagined achievements in a rather short span of time. Accustomed to perform such miracles, we are now equal to whatever tasks. To remould one's thoughts in compliance with the requirements of the Juche idea means rooting up outdated ideas from one's mind and drastically transforming one's thinking. Technical reconstruction implies freeing people from hard labour and guaranteeing a genuinely independent and creative life for the working masses. By cultural remodelling is meant cleaning the cultural life of the old ways and building a popular and revolutionary culture. All this has been brought about thanks to the uncommon wisdom of the dear leader who has led us to accept and practise the revolutionary habits of study and life the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung established among the anti-Japanese guerrillas from the time when he started the anti-Japanese armed struggle till its final victory."

Today the slogan "Produce, study and live like the anti-Japanese guerrillas!" stimulates the entire Korean people. A certain fact that strikes the eyes of all foreigners visiting Korea is that today the Korean people, after the fashion of the guerrillas of yesterday who, firmly united around the great leader, got over all difficulties without the slightest vacillation, are displaying fortitude in their struggle for socialist construction and on all fronts of human activities, showing great enthusiasm and unyielding fighting spirit. This self-sacrificing spirit of individuals for the collective is promoted by a profound sense of national achievement.

which resolutely defies flunkeyism towards great powers, dogmatism, worship for foreign habits and ways of life and all other unhealthy tendencies. All things one sees in Korea are uniquely Korean. But, far from being closed as some Western press say, Korea does everything in their own manner and according to the requirements of the revolution. Revolution cannot, and must not, be exported, because it can neither be imported nor be exported, without losing its own finality and reason for being. Revolution breaks out owing to social circumstances, and it should meet the requirements of people fighting to be free from nature and society and become their master. The Korean people are aware of this truth, and it finds expression in their disgust for flunkeyism, dogmatism and all hues of imitations, and in the fact that they do all things in an original way and treasure their own experience.

At present the Workers' Party of Korea has launched out on a new historic march to accomplish the cause of Kimilsungism. Comrade Kim Jong Il has cleared the way for this march by setting forth the revolutionary policy of modelling first the Party, the political General Staff, on the Juche idea. He wisely guides the struggle for implementing this policy. According to the theory of the dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il on giving priority to ideological work, all publications, the press, radio and TV broadcasting in Korea are making a great contribution to modelling the whole of society on the Juche idea. The Workers' Party of Korea—from the Central Committee down to cells in factories and villages, from members of the Political Bureau to rank-and-file members—is mobilized as one, acts on one order and follows one theory. The revolutionary cause started by the great leader will be carried to completion as the Party advocates, inherits and carries forward the revolutionary traditions established by him.

The most essential of all qualities of Comrade

numerous impressive results."

The Koreans know this. They give unstinted praise to the dear leader who set forth the theory of the three revolutions of revolutionizing, working-classizing and intellectualizing the whole of Korean society, remodelling the national economy on the Juche idea, modernizing culture and perfecting arts, laid down the strategic line and orientation to be followed in the whole process of socialist construction, got the communist revolutionary theory out of the boundary of hypotheses and supposition and put it on a completely scientific basis and thus turned it into a practical weapon for transforming nature and society. Therefore, the authority and prestige of Comrade Kim Jong Il are not without reason. "They proceed," the Koreans unhesitatingly declare, "from the immense services he has rendered to the country and the people, to history and humanity."

Thanks to him, Kimilsungism is safe from all adverse weathers and has acquired a second youth.

The word youth makes me recall the words of Alfred Sauvy who once said that senility is an "evil negating life".

In a book titled *The Economy of Devils* which was published by Calmann-Levy in 1976, Sauvy wrote:

"Terrible famine comes to some areas with bad omen, and death in the wake of poverty. But the poor are on the increase. It is a stark reality of our age. It is because they only rely on the sole factor of life called youth. They want to live and they will live out by this or that means. But such means may be different from those the wealthy countries expect to have. The latter preposterously allege that 'they live happily because they have few children.' They will carve out their destiny by their youth.

"This strange illness, senility, is an evil. It causes a temporary paralysis, but becomes inveterate some days. This evil, though miserable, turns man invalid 'logically' and buries him in debts helplessly. The economy of devils

disguised in good will, like a hell, is able to bring about a change by means of an intentional leap.

"If the advantage of errors is the possibility of being corrected, the great virtue of obscurantism is that it can give place to enlightenment."

Korea seems to have extricated itself from obscurantism for ever at the very moment when the tact of rich countries to evade their duties seemed to have taken a tragic turn. President Kim Il Sung's Korea lives in the age of "labour". In Korea, people do not spend much time on discussions, reports, documentation, various lengthy lectures or meetings. But they employ their time in teaching farmers to cultivate land in the fields, workers to take care of their equipment and increase productivity, and cadres to live together with their subordinates, speak in their terms and share a life with them in factories.

Since 30 years ago, to put it more precisely, from the 1970's when the Juche Korea started to register great successes, the world has been wandering in unrest and fear without confidence.

The continent which is shaken in a social and economic chaos is living in an era of inflation, unemployment and scarcities. When unemployment and instability of currency are barely tided over, various obstacles crop up in succession in such vital fields as agriculture, power and raw material production.

The rich imperialist countries which have turned racist and dominationist are shuddering for fear in the face of the rapid advance of over 80 Asian, African and Latin American countries which, united in the non-aligned movement, demand justice and reparation from the former colonialists.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism looked upon the building of socialism and communism as a process of the continuous revolution, but their successors have failed to explain what kind of form (absolutely perfect) the revol-

ution should assume after the establishment of the socialist system.

The Korean people think that some countries fail to take appropriate measures for saving people from the crisis because they have no guiding idea to make people masters of nature and society. Fervent love for the motherland, burning hatred for the class enemy, a high organizational sense, boundless love for labour, a spirit of mutual aid and strict discipline are for the Korean people indispensable conditions for success. The Koreans say that decision must not be made in a bureaucratic way but must be adopted everywhere possible by people who will take responsibility for its result from the angle of their own life and interests. People must be allowed to adopt and carry out decisions concerning their life, subsistence and future. Therefore, they must make a decision where they live, produce or consume, that is, at enterprises or homes.

The Koreans reject merely administrative usages, formalistic work methods and officials putting on airs towards their subordinates.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il, successor to the great cause of President Kim Il Sung, is respected as "loadstar" which rises high over the homeland of Kimilsungism for all the qualities he has as the leader. And thanks to his guidance, the Korean people have an attitude befitting the masters and a simple habit of life; which elicit the admiration of foreigners everywhere.

They say with confidence: "When all countries of the world rely on oil with no regard to the resources needed for their economic development, we the Koreans determinedly insist on relying on our national resources."

They, like Juche-type economists imbued with Kimilsungism, also proudly proved, with figures and statistic data, the industrial development, the progress in agriculture and the success in cultural construction

in Korea.

"From 1970 to 1979 our industry increased by 15.9 per cent annually and grew 3.8 times in the volume of industrial output. In the same period, capitalist countries only made an average growth of 3.4 per cent. So, why is it not a miracle? We occupied the 7-million ton grain production goal of the Six-Year Plan two years ahead of schedule, and attained such an unimagined peak as 9 million tons in 1979. What country in the world ever can do so? Is there any country on earth like ours where universities increased from 129 to 170 and 481 colleges have been newly established. Today Korea has over one million technicians and specialists. Isn't it a decisive solution to the cadre problem which constitutes a difficult and urgent question in the third world and the developing countries?"

As is widely known, the miraculous and astounding successes attained in Korea in the 1970's make a sharp contrast with the serious political and economic crises involving many countries of the world and the social disturbances shaking those countries periodically or regionally. From this arises the necessity of succession to the revolutionary cause for the Korean people as a vital question. As is openly talked about among the Koreans, the question of "whether to carry the revolution through to the end or to give it up halfway" is an "immutable law" to them. In particular, it is true of the question of how to remain faithful to the respected leader President Kim Il Sung. The cause of President Kim Il Sung has a greater practical impact than a theoretical one. According to the views of the Korean people, the question of inheriting the great leader's cause has become a matter of interest for many countries directly and from the highest point of view and the cause itself is characterized by its great historical importance.

Today the DPRK has the firm economic and ideological

foundations, so that it can make enormous strides internally and internationally. But the confrontation in Korea still remains unsettled.

I say so because the Seoul-Panmunjom highway which leads to reunification (the Westerns think so) is often jammed with US and south-Korean army trucks transporting troops and armoured cars engaged in what the Westerns describe as "defensive exercises", and also because I see the Pyongyang-Panmunjom highway for reunification (along which I drove on the morning of a rainy day in July 1981) bustling full with life and hopes. Roadside trees were so luxuriant with foliage that I failed to get a glimpse of the happy village life hidden behind them. In the countryside water and electricity serve as the chief means for developing the economy (Some people regard them as only things necessary for the modernization of instruments of production which serve man).

In conclusion, I sincerely wish eternal spring to Korea which is throbbing with life and hope. We can easily understand the joy the Korean people are feeling in their life. I am captivated by this joy, as Samdech Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, a well-known friend of Korea, was deeply impressed by it. In a fine book he wrote about President Kim Il Sung's Korea, Prince Sihanouk described what I had wanted to. He wrote in a beautiful and terse style:

"I think—all know that I am not a Marxist—that Kimilsungism entirely meets the desire and needs of the Korean people and not only brings dignity, justice and prosperity to them but teaches many things to small countries like ours.

"I admire the state of Korea for its firm will, the mettle it showed in rising speedily from the war ravages, and for its ability to use others' examples only in its own national interests.

"The DPRK is a beacon to small countries. It has no territorial ambition and applies no political pressure on anybody else. It presents itself as it is, namely, shows itself with its scenic nature and miraculous successes. It gives advice to those who want advice, and aids generously those who want aid. It welcomes anyone who loves and respects it.

"In fact, Marshal Kim Il Sung's Korea is a glory to our Asia."

My beloved fatherland, Tunisia of Bourguiba, may treat President Kim Il Sung's Korea as a fraternal country closer than a friendly country and has to do so. This is my desire, and this desire will be realized some day.